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ABSTRACT

A study identified causal linkages and basic interrelationships among components of the Career Intern Program (CIP) and observed outcomes. (The CIP is an alternative high school designed to enable disadvantaged and alienated dropouts or potential dropouts to earn regular high school diplomas, to prepare them for meaningful employment or postsecondary education, and to facilitate their transition from school to work by providing instruction, counseling, hands-on career exposure, diagnosis/assessment, and climate.) Data from observation, interviews, and ethnographic data collection instruments were collected on site during a series of six to seven visits of one to two weeks. Examined during these site visits were such program components as instruction, career exposure, counseling, assessment activities, personnel qualifications and roles, curriculum, recruitment, facilities, funds, materials and supplies, relations to the community and local education agencies, and ideologies underlying CIP. Analysis of data resulted in identification of a number of adaptive and maladaptive relationships both intrinsic and extrinsic to program operations. Also examined was the broader socio-political context of CIP. (Related reports evaluating other aspects of CIP are available separately through ERIC--see note.) (MN)

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RMC Report No. UR 480

STUDY OF THE CAREER INTERN PROGRAM

Final Technical Report--Task C:

Program Dynamics: Structure, Function, and Interrelationships

David M. Fetterman

May 1981

Prepared for the
National Institute of Education

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RMC Research Corporation
Mountain View, California

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The Career Intern Program (CIP) is an alternative high school serving students (called interns) who have dropped out of regular high schools or were considered to be potential dropouts. This alternative educational system represents one of the few exemplary educational programs for disenfranchised and economically disadvantaged minority youth. Moreover, the CIP is an important social and educational experiment in the United States. Policy makers have been interested in the program as a viable response to serious labor market problems--high rates of dropping out of school and youth unemployment. Social reformers, however, have viewed the program as a vehicle to redress historically based social inequities and promote upward social mobility for minority groups. This program is also of interest to academicians and researchers because it provides an opportunity to explore the processes of socialization, cultural transmission, and equal educational opportunity in the United States.

The CIP was developed in Philadelphia by Opportunities Industrialization Centers of America, Inc. (OIC/A). An independent evaluation was undertaken and the results were positive on several criterion variables (Gibboney Associates, 1977). The evidence of success was judged sound by the Joint (U.S. Office of Education and National Institute of Education) Dissemination Review Panel (JDRP), and the program was approved by that group as eligible for federally funded dissemination.

Dissemination of the CIP was funded by the U.S. Department of Labor (DOL). By means of an Interagency Agreement, the National Institute of Education (NIE) filled the role of monitor for the dissemination effort and for evaluation of the program at the new sites.

OIC/A was the agency responsible for the dissemination. That organization, through a competitive bidding process selected four local OICs to attempt CIP replication. Of the selected sites, three were urban and one was located in a small city (30,000 population).

The CIP replication effort was also found to be successful (Fetterman, 1979; Tallmadge & Yuen, 1979; Treadway, Stromquist, Fetterman, Foat, & Tallmadge, 1981) despite numerous implementation problems that are discussed in Chapter VIII of this report. These problems were largely due to extrinsic forces such as inadequate preparation time, evaluation design, and federal involvement. These factors have been discussed in detail in Chapter XI.

This study describes the activities and outcomes of the third study (out of four) of CIP as it was replicated in the four new sites.

The purpose of Task C is to identify causal linkages and basic interrelationships among components of the Career Intern Program and observed outcomes. Subtasks include: (a) refining hypotheses and the conceptual framework; (b) developing data-collection instruments, methods, and procedures; and (c) collecting and analyzing data. These subtasks and their outcomes are described below.

Refining the Hypotheses and Conceptual Framework

The Career Intern Program was conceptualized as a sociocultural system composed of numerous subsystems, traits, and components. Three primary subsystems (and the basic interrelationships among them) are crucial to program operation. These subsystems were abstracted from observations of program operations and examination of evaluation materials and written records related to the prototype program in Philadelphia.

The core subsystem includes the activities specifically designed to assist in the transmission of knowledge, skills, behavioral patterns, and cultural values. This subsystem consists of five CIP components: instruction, counseling, hands-on, intern formalized assessment, and program climate.

The support subsystem enables core components of the program to operate. The CIP support system includes: a system of rules and regulations, personnel qualifications, personnel roles, curriculum, recruitment, facilities, funds, materials and supplies, relations with the LEA, relations with teachers' associations, relations with the community, relations with the local OIC, and the role of OIC/A.

The ideological subsystem of the program includes the shared explicit and implicit cultural knowledge used to justify the social structure and organization of the system. The ideology informs program practice, much as theory informs methodology in the social sciences. Fundamental elements of the CIP philosophy include: caring about interns, providing a supportive context for them, providing a realistic perspective for interns, "dealing with the whole intern," maintaining high personal and academic expectations of interns, treating interns as (young) adults, and treating interns as individuals.

The CIP philosophy informs program practice. It is an extension of the parent organization's (OIC/A) philosophy/ideology. OIC/A's philosophy/ideology is a fusion of a humanistic "serving the whole person" concept and a work-ethic ideology. This ideological orientation is congruent with the underlying ideology of the American socioeconomic system. This match of ideological persuasions serves to help those presently disenfranchised or alienated from the system "get their fair share"--whether through the OIC manpower programs or in the CIP.

The CIP has manifest and latent functions. Manifest functions include enabling students to complete high school and receive a high school diploma (rather than a GED), improving reading and math skills, and enhancing career planning and occupational knowledge. The single most significant latent function of the program is contributing to the social mobility of various lower socioeconomic groups that are disproportionately represented in the dropout and unemployment statistics. The transmission of mainstream values is the process by which the program contributes to their objective. Creating a quasi-total institution effect--offering CIP as a basis for social identity--is the transmission mechanism.

Data-Collection Instruments, Methods, and Procedures

Ethnographic data-collection instruments, methods, procedures, and perspectives were employed. The task also relied heavily on information gathered through nomothetic methods and perspectives. Traditional techniques such as participant-observation, non-participant observation, use of key informants, triangulation, structured, semi-structured, and informal interviews, and so on were used to elicit data from the emic or "insider's" perspective. The study attempted to be nonjudgmental, holistic, and contextual in perspective. A tape recorder and camera proved invaluable in collecting and documenting the data (particularly given the time constraints imposed on the effort).

Data Collection and Analysis

Data were collected on site during a series of six to seven visits of one to two weeks. Most visits were made by two-person teams. Team members (a) conducted structured and unstructured interviews with interns, CIP staff, OIC staff, and relevant community leaders; (b) observed CIP classroom and non-classroom activities; and (c) reviewed documentation and observations pertaining to the Philadelphia prototype and the replication effort.

Extensive notes, tape recordings, and photographic records were compiled. Observations were compared and discussed at length after each visit. Lengthy telephone conversations were held with interns and staffs to keep abreast of developments and to clarify conflicting evidence. Meetings and frequent telephone conversations were also held with OIC/A staff and others associated with the Philadelphia prototype.

Relevant literature of sociology and anthropology was reviewed to identify relevant concepts.

Findings

Numerous program outcomes (or approximations of outcomes) are important measures of the programs' success. These outcomes include attitudinal change, including dramatic attitudinal transformation; increased attention span; acquisition of cognitive skills, enhanced communication skills; improved self-presentation skills; and ability to cope with authority. There are also a number of formal and quantifiable measures of program success and stability, including attendance, turnover, graduation, and placement. Poor attendance was one of the criteria for referral to the CIP. Actual dropouts represent a still more extreme example of behavior change in the program, i.e., from non-attendance to the attendance figures reported in this study. Low summer attendance, however, points to the need for restructuring the summer program, e.g., work-study programs. In addition, fear of program funding termination and "lax" management lead to resume passing among staff for some sites, which in turn affected intern behavior. Elaborate attendance monitoring systems that held interns accountable for their behavior produced high attendance--75 to 80 percent.

All CIP sites had periods of high turnover that affected both the implementation of the program and intern attendance. Staff turnover also provides one measure of the stability of a program. The turnover rate is a particularly significant factor in the CIP because of the importance of continuity in the program, for instance, between management and staff, and between staff and interns. The development of well-functioning CIP components requires some continuity of these personal relationships. Such continuity also promotes intern attendance. For these reasons, the variation in turnover rates projected below are thus indicative of implementation successes and failures. The reasons for departure represent the links between implementation and a given program's turnover rate.

Summed across the four sites, there were 97 staff terminations, 58 voluntary and 39 involuntary. Sixty-seven percent of the voluntary terminations were for the sake of career advancement, a finding that suggests salary scales and opportunities for advancement at the CIP sites were non-competitive. Most of the rest of those who departed voluntarily cited conflicts with management as their reason.

Of the involuntary terminations, almost 80% were for incompetence and/or lack of appropriate qualifications, and over 60% of the terminations in this category occurred at Site A. Approximately 42% of the terminations resulting from incompetence were managers. Again, over 60% of these cases occurred at Site A.

There were only half as many involuntary terminations at Site B as at the site with the second lowest rate and none of them was a management person. This finding suggests that Site B's personnel recruitment and screening procedures were outstandingly effective. The numbers of involuntary terminations for incompetence at Sites C and D were not excessive but both lost their original directors and at least one other key management person for this reason.

The high proportion of managers involuntarily terminated for incompetence points to the faulty screening process in selection and the need for more qualified professionals in these positions. The Reverend Dr. Leon H. Sullivan recently pointed to this same problem in relation to OIC management, stating that, "I want to look at the whole management situation of everything I'm doing...I think that we are going to have to professionalize the operations of the OIC or else we will not be able to make it" (Antosh & Ditzen, 1980).

This level of understanding and insight into program operations from the highest position in the organization, plus the actions already taken to remedy these problems in the larger organization, suggest that the professionalization of CIP management will continue where and when needed in the future.

Moreover, the high proportion of involuntary terminations due to incompetence and/or lack of appropriate qualifications points to the need for adequate planning and preparation time to select competent staff. OIC/A pointed out that the "sites had to hire staff members in approximately three weeks without any grant funds. Also, those doing the hiring had to do so without sufficient time for OIC/A to train them about what type of staff to hire."

Graduation is one of the most important program outcomes for interns and their families--it is "a cap on a genuine achievement." Moreover, subsequent job and/or academic placements represent at once a test and a realistic validation of the program's ability to help interns make the transition from school to work. While graduation can tell us something about the program's successes, much can also be learned from those whose needs were not served and who dropped out. Data collected from these individuals suggest that not all needy youth can be well served by a program with a primarily academic orientation.

The sites altogether graduated 225 interns: 60 from the first cohort (of 182 enrolled); 75 from the second cohort (of 228 enrolled); 65 from the third cohort (of 386 enrolled); and 25 from the fourth cohort (of 345 enrolled). Approximately 20% of the total enrollees graduated: 33% of the first cohort, 33% of the second cohort, 17% of the third cohort, and 7% of the fourth cohort. These figures are somewhat misleading, however, as many students (264) were still enrolled at the time the counts were made. A large proportion of them are expected to graduate if the program continues. Sites A, B, C, and D together placed 189 of their 225 graduates (84%): 94 in college, 53 in jobs, 29 in skills training, and 13 in the military. The remaining graduates were as follows: 13 unemployed, 17 that could not be located, 5 pregnant, and 1 deceased.

This study highlights the levels of treatment and outcome that characterize the Career Intern Program in order to more fully understand the relationships among CIP components and intern outcomes. The relationships have been classified as adaptive or maladaptive, and as intrinsic or extrinsic to program operations. All four categories must be examined in order to understand the dynamics of program operation. A listing of the most important relationships in each of these categories follows:

Adaptive Relationships Intrinsic to Program Operations

OIC (local)

- Effective staff recruitment and screening are essential to program success. Underqualified, incompetent, and/or insensitive staff will seriously undermine, if not destroy, the program.

CIP Management

- Strong management that is capable of gathering resources and making decisions about activities requiring immediate action, serves to maintain operation of the core program.

- Effective management requires a knowledge of "what's going on" in the program. Informal and formal channels or sources of information on both staff and intern levels is required. Ignorance in this area severely weakens an administrator's ability to rectify programmatic problems.

- Middle management's routine use of the whole-person concept in their interactions with interns is perceived as caring by interns (which in turn contributes to their attendance).

- The definition of roles and the institution of rules, regulations, and specific program policies for staff and interns are essential to the effective operation of the program (their absence leads to routine misinterpretations, misunderstandings, infighting, and turnover).

Instruction

- Maintaining high expectations or standards for interns, both in and outside the classroom, contributes to high intern attendance (83% in one site).

- The use of contracts, packets, and similar teaching devices contributes to a greater understanding and sense of responsibility on the part of the intern.

- Open and sincere instructors produce a school climate that is perceived as human and flexible, and which keeps interns coming and willing to work.

- The accelerated nature of the program motivates interns to "get down to it."

- The "firm but caring" attitude of instructors toward the interns is a primary motivating factor that promotes their continued participation in the programs.

- Peer tutoring is an effective means of teaching reading (the situation is devoid of negative peer pressure or the stigma associated with not being able to read).

Counseling

- Providing intensive "whole person" counseling enhances intern coping strategies, i.e., controlling one's temper, and contributes to regular attendance patterns.

- Providing auxiliary services, e.g., day care service, enables interns with children to attend the CIP on a regular basis.

- Effective recruitment requires, or is enhanced by: organized and systematic plans, hard work from recruitment teams, LEA cooperation, a "real" office in the feeder schools, permission to make announcements on the public address system, good timing (after report cards), and peer group (intern) participation.

- Parent pressure is an invaluable tool for "reaching" interns.

General Staff

- A supportive staff contributes to interns studying, selecting a career, and earning a diploma.

- Enforcement of rules contributes to internalizing world-of-work norms. It is also directly responsible for the absence of profanity, smoking in class or hallways, and loitering.

- Indoctrination of all staff (including the janitor) into the whys and wherefores of the program contributes to increased intern motivation to attend regularly and pursue studies.

- Staff criticism of inappropriate intern behavior (in informal and formal settings) is interpreted positively by interns as a form of caring.

- Projects such as school newspapers or "scared straight programs" generate interest and participation among interns throughout a program.

Interns

- Small program size is required to produce the community-like atmosphere that forces many interns to exercise common courtesies not required at their former high school.
- School clubs and the Intern Council enhance intern affiliation with the program.

Maladaptive Relationships Intrinsic to Program Operation

OIC (local)

- Local OIC pressures on CIP staff members to "shape up or ship out" contribute to "everyone minding everyone's business."
- Administrative bottlenecks interfere with program operations and fuel staff resentment.
- Inadequate numbers of books prevent interns from doing homework.
- The use of strategies appropriate for training programs is counterproductive for academic programs.

CIP Management

- Inadequate administrative support serves to "bottleneck" necessary requests (e.g., for materials) and frustrates the staff.
- "Weak" management contributes to staff absences which leads, in turn, to intern absences.
- "Austerity budgets" that contain no provisions for cost of living, loyalty, or merit raises are self-defeating and lead to high staff turnover.
- The sudden and autocratic imposition of new rules will antagonize those on whom they are imposed--whether staff or interns.
- Hiring policies that ignore philosophical and attitudinal qualifications will lead to staff disruption and intern disinterest.
- Management that ignores courtesy and protocol will demoralize staff, which in turn affects intern behavior, e.g., attendance, graffiti, hanging out.
- Management by intimidation generates staff disruption, staff turnover, teacher absenteeism, dissatisfaction, and resume passing.

- Lack of a strong educational administrative background in management serves to undermine CIP-LEA negotiations and often undermines basic program operations.

- Temporary leadership is usually recognized as such by staff and interns and leads to a consistent disregard for program rules and regulations; for staff as well as interns.

- Inconsistent enforcement of basic intern rules and regulations demoralizes staff and interns alike.

- The lack of "professional sharing" (time to communicate with colleagues) diminishes staff members' sense of professionalism and breeds secrecy and clandestine channels of communication (which are often sources of serious miscommunication).

- Assigning overall program management duties to the instructional supervisor isolates that person from program details and concerns. In addition, instructors do not receive the support and guidance they need.

- Paternalistic or condescending attitudes in management undermine staff respect for administration and the program in general.

- Lack of vacation time leads to staff burnout.

- Inadequate time (or know-how) for establishing working agreements with the LEA leads to almost insurmountable problems.

Instructors

- Instructors who employ traditional classroom teaching techniques or fail to infuse their courses with content relevant to the interns' lives are unsuccessful in achieving either learning or attendance objectives.

Counselors

- Insufficient counseling services lead to intern dissatisfaction, loitering in the halls waiting to see the counselor, and "cutting out."

- When the counseling department is overworked, personal counseling is the first area to get "the short end of the stick."

- Telephone calls and letters are ineffective means of recruiting interns.

General Staff

- Failure to have and enforce rules regarding lateness and apparel, for example, contributes to repeated intern tardiness (often leading to absences) and maladaptive self-presentation skills, e.g., inappropriate clothing for the "world-of-work."

- Staff frustration and tension, when coupled with a lack of administrative autonomy, contribute to neglect in establishing course schedules that reflect interns' requirements for graduation--this in turn contributes to high rates of intern absenteeism.

- Poor communication between staff and administration ranks as one of the most frequent causes of program disruption leading to lower staff morale and indirectly to intern absenteeism.

- High staff turnover produces a lack of continuity in the program, which creates problems with follow-up, and ignorance of basic rules, regulations, and program policies. This in turn confuses and disenchants interns.

Interns

- More than half of the interns fail summer session courses because of poor attendance. The CIP schedule is not designed to accommodate the interns' needs for summer employment.

Adaptive Relationships Extrinsic to Program Operation

Sponsor

- Adequate funding levels and time frames lead to staff satisfaction and reduced turnover.

OIC/A

- OIC/A's intervention can save foundering programs.

- National conferences that include local school board officials give the program a boost in credibility.

- Staff retreats are useful mechanisms for building program solidarity.

OIC

- Constructive local OIC intervention can help programs over difficult times--for example, by providing interim management personnel.

Community

- Threats to the program from outsiders (e.g., street gang members crashing a CIP disco) can elicit and/or reinforce interns' identification with and commitment to the CIP.

- Exposure to the community from which the CIP interns are drawn can reinforce staff members' commitment to the program.

- Interns' past experiences with broken homes, negative peer pressure, dope, school hopping (looking for the "right kind of people"), etc., provide strong motivation to enter the program and seriously pursue their studies.

Maladaptive Relationships Extrinsic to Program Operation

Funding Agency

- Threats of termination from the funding agency if certain conditions are not met are counterproductive. Such behavior demoralizes the staff, even at sites that are not threatened.

- Partial or inadequate funding significantly inhibits program effectiveness.

- Short or uncertain funding schedules cause staff concern about job security. Commitment to the program is lowered and staff turnover is increased.

Managing and Funding Agencies

- Disagreements between the funding and managing agencies can interrupt the flow of funds to the program. "Mixed signals" at the sites are also demoralizing.

- Excessive pressures to meet enrollment quotas encourage sites to enroll inappropriate types of students. While in the program, such students disrupt operations. Most drop out or are terminated which gives a misleading impression of the program's ability to retain students.

- A treatment-control evaluation design generates difficulties "selling the program" to prospective interns (and directors of other programs) and damages the reputation of disseminators as service organizations. This problem is particularly severe when program "slots" go unfilled.

- A lack of adequate time for preparation and start-up invariably leads to operational problems later on.

OIC/A - OIC

- Rivalry and considerations of "turf" between OIC/A and the local OIC leads to the erection of obstacles to productive communication, cooperation, and training of program staff.

- (Mis)use of an evaluation report to highlight program deficiencies is likely to contribute to the demoralization of a once-dedicated staff.

LEA

- School boards and/or officials who are reluctant to cooperate can so hinder recruitment that the CIP may never achieve reasonable enrollment levels.

- Teacher unions may force employment of several LEA instructors. If those who are hired have non-supportive attitudes and low expectations of interns, their presence in the program will be a strong negative influence on both staff and interns.

- If the CIP is made an integral part of the school system (as happened at one site), the major incentive for the regular high schools to cooperate in the recruitment of potential interns is lost. Other negative consequences might include: increased unionization of the instructional staff (with a consequent loss of dedication and caring) and lessened flexibility to operate outside the constraints of traditional school policies.

Community

- In one site the facility was located within the boundaries of one LEA though it served students from several others. Resentment within the unserved "home" community led to harassment.

- Gangs in the immediate vicinity of the program may erect obstacles to prevent interns from attending the program.

While the preceding points are specifically relevant to the operation and success of the Career Intern Program in meeting its stated and unstated goals, the study described in this report was also able to go beyond program specifics to examine the CIP in a broader socio-political context.

An important problem with the demonstration was the application of a treatment-control experimental design to a population of dropouts and potential dropouts. The use of this design was methodologically unsound (because assigning students to the control group was equivalent to a negative treatment and because high attrition rates invalidated the assumption of random equivalence between groups which is the cornerstone of the design). It was also immoral (because youths who needed the program were denied admission even though there were unfilled "slots").

Another socio-political inference that can be drawn from this study is that the nature of federal involvement is often such that unintentional negative influences are brought to bear on program operations. An illustration from the present study is the extreme pressure (threats of termination) that was brought to bear on the sites to meet enrollment quotas. Not only did this emphasis require that instruction and counseling activities (which are, of course, the major thrusts of the program) be abandoned so that more effort could be devoted to recruiting, it was also directly responsible for the enrollment of unsuitable interns who further disrupted program routines, added to the paperwork burden, and inflated absenteeism and termination statistics.

The impetus to employ randomized experimental designs and to apply pressures to meet numerical goals, pre-established schedules, and inflexible deadlines stems from the federal bureaucratic climate. Governmental agencies feel they must make the strongest case possible before Congress, on whom they depend for future funds. Since controlled randomized experiments are generally accepted as providing the most credible evidence, it follows naturally that they will be selected--regardless of their suitability for the task at hand.

The kinds of ethnographic analyses underlying this report are often regarded as novelties and almost always as secondary to traditional quantitative approaches. Nevertheless, they are relatively immune to the kinds of problems that plague attempts to apply quantitative models suitable for laboratory situations under field conditions. Furthermore, they provide a means of exploring a school situation with only an orienting hypothesis.

The main purpose of the research described herein relates to its potential social impact with respect to future programs serving disaffected and disenfranchised youth. It is also significant methodologically, however. This study was designed to serve as a model for ethnographic evaluation. The study incorporates as many detailed descriptions of events and techniques as possible to allow for individual analysis of both the findings and the data used to generate the findings. The application of ethnographic techniques to educational evaluation remains a new endeavor. Many challenges are posed in attempting to adapt traditional anthropological techniques to intensive, short-term studies. Each successful application thus constitutes a significant contribution to the development and refinement of this new methodological frontier.

I. THE REFORMERS, FEDERAL INVOLVEMENT, AND THE CIP

The history of racial and religious discrimination dates back to the origins of American history. The effects of this legacy and many of the practices linger in the present. During the late 1950s and early 1960s community-action groups, "outraged at the failure of gradualism," reacted non-violently to racial discrimination practices in employment opportunities. Black clergymen led boycotts of businesses that practiced racial discrimination. Philadelphia was one of the first major cities where community-action groups organized such boycotts. One of the more famous boycotts--the Selective Patronage Program--proved successful in reversing local discriminatory practices. This effort set an example for the Philadelphia business community and significantly contributed to removal of such local practices.

The Reverend Dr. Leon Sullivan, pastor of Zion Baptist Church in Philadelphia, was one of the leaders of this community-action group--composed of over 400 Black clergy. He was also one of the first to recognize that the accomplishments of the boycotts were only the beginning; a second step was needed immediately.

> Once Black workers were allowed to seek employment opportunities, however, most were placed in unskilled jobs because of their lack of training and education. Thus, providing education and training for Blacks and other minorities became the motivation for establishing the first Opportunities Industrialization Center (OIC) in an old jailhouse in Philadelphia. (Gibboney Associates, 1977, p. 6)

Today, a network of over 150-200 OIC job-training centers extends from the east to the west coast. The Wall Street Journal has reported that "labor experts praise the OIC as one of the most successful and efficient manpower programs going" (Bray, 1974). The initial focus, however, was almost exclusively on preparing and training adults for blue collar jobs. Later, it was Sullivan who again stood in the vanguard, concerned with improving the occupational outlook of adults through improved education.

Opportunities Industrialization Centers of America (OIC/A) was aware of its long list of assets, e.g., experience training low-income adults, community-based support, links to business and industry, and socioreligious commitment to the needs of inner-city youth; however, both financial support and a design for an appropriate program were needed to assist inner-city high school dropouts and students at high risk of dropping out. Sidney Marland, then U.S. Commissioner of Education, stepped in to supply these missing links for OIC/A. He was in a position to offer support and was interested in career education. Career education offered OIC/A a specific program design appropriate to the population in need of service.

> Career education is a systematic way to acquaint students with the world of work in the elementary and junior high years to prepare them in high school and college to enter and advance in a career field carefully chosen from among many. (Marland, cited in Gibboney Associates, 1977)

Marland, representing the Office of Education (OE), met with Sullivan in 1970 at the Seventh Annual OIC/A Convocation and offered his commitment to this new venture. The Office of Education officially awarded OIC/A a grant two years later to operate the Urban Career Education Center composed of the Career Intern Program (CIP), the Community Career Program (CCP), and the Career Orientation Program (COP). (Technically OIC/A subcontracted to Philadelphia OIC to operate the program.)

In 1973, OE and the newly formed National Institute of Education (NIE) agreed to support specific elements of the Urban Career Education Center: OE supported the CCP and the COP, while NIE assumed responsibility for the CIP (February 1973). NIE made awards to OIC/A in December 1973, and June 1975, to complete the development of the CIP and to conduct an evaluation of the program. The Gibboney Associates Final Report (1977) summarizes the evaluation of the last 18 months of development when, "the challenges, the disappointments, and the painfully achieved progress of the early months, will, it is hoped, have had their greatest payoff" (p. 8).

Evaluation of the CIP in Philadelphia found it had significant positive impacts on young peoples' academic achievment and postsecondary experience. Consequently, four additional CIPs have been implemented to see if the CIP is "replicable" in new sites at reasonable cost within a pre-specified period of time, and whether the same success achieved in Philadelphia can be realized in the new sites.

The CIPs are being implemented as part of a demonstration project under the Department of Labor's (DOL) authority through the Youth Employment Demonstration Project Act of 1977 (YEDPA, P.L. 95-93). The National Institute of Education is managing the demonstration under an interagency agreement with DOL. Since December 1977 four local affiliates of OIC/A have been implementing the CIP. RMC Research Corporation (RMC) was retained by NIE to study and evaluate the sites' dissemination, implementation, and operation.

II. METHODOLOGY: ETHNOGRAPHIC TECHNIQUES APPLIED TO EDUCATIONAL EVALUATION

The study of the Career Intern Program comprises four major tasks. This report deals with Task C which has the analysis of functional relationships among program components and intern outcomes as its objective. The methodology used in accomplishing this task was primarily ethnographic. The study has posed many methodological challenges, however, since time and other constraints have necessitated innovative approaches.

This study represents an important step in the application of qualitative techniques to educational evaluation research. The earliest examples of qualitative methods in evaluation research appeared in the late sixties (cf. Mech, 1969; Glaser, 1969). The "contract ethnographer" literature has grown since that time. Presently the literature includes discussions of conceptual frameworks, techniques, the role of the ethnographer in evaluation, and procedural suggestions (Brenner, Marsh, & Brenner, 1978; Britan, 1977, 1978; Burns, 1975, 1978; Campbell, 1974; Clinton, 1975, 1976; Colfer, 1976; Coward, 1976; Everhart, 1975; Fetterman, 1980, 1981a, 1981b, 1981c; Firestone, 1975; Fitzsimmons, 1975; Hall, 1978; Hamilton, McDonald, King, Jenkins, & Parlett, 1977; Hord, 1978; Mulhauser, 1975; Patton, 1978; Sobel, 1976; Tikunoff & Ward, 1977). This surge of interest in qualitative methodology has been the result of a significant disillusionment with quantitative methods. This disillusionment has also extended to the use of the experimental design, the cornerstone of quantitative methodology in educational evaluation (Cronbach & Associates, 1980; Scriven, 1978; Weiss, C., 1974; Weiss, R., & Rein, 1972 among others). In fact, governmental agencies, most notably the National Institute of Education, have funded several qualitative evaluation studies over the past five years in response to the problems from the application of experimental design to natural social settings. These studies have generally included ethnographic fieldwork as one component of the evaluation. The ethnographic component has ranged from comprehensive studies of large scale federal demonstration projects to more limited mini studies.

One of the comprehensive studies conducted was the Experimental Schools Program Evaluation (Burns, 1976; Clinton, 1975; Colfer, 1976; Everhart, 1976; Fitzsimmons, 1975; Herriott, 1979a, 1979b). The Experimental Schools Program was a federally funded effort to introduce innovation and change in several school districts throughout the country. The interdisciplinary evaluation used descriptive case studies and traditional survey and psychometric instruments to understand the process of educational change. Abt Associates conducted a portion of the evaluation (Project Rural). They selected an ethnographer to reside in the school district for three to five years in one of their studies, while the remainder of the team stayed at the firm. In another study, the field worker combined efforts with others on the research team at the school site. The study represents the best approximation of a conventional ethnographic approach to research in evaluation. The study was primarily summative in value and the studies produced sizeable ethnographic case studies of the program. One of the drawbacks with this kind of approach, however, is that it is more time consuming than the traditional evaluation procedures and rarely produces reports for policy or administrative decision making in a timely fashion.

The Field Studies in Urban Desegregated Schools Program is another large scale federal study (see Cassell, 1978; Riffel, Ianni, Orr, Reuss-Ianni, Savivoir, & Sparks, 1976). This study, however, more closely resembled basic research rather than evaluation research and as such provides little insight into the process of ethnographic adaptation to evaluation. There have also been other large scale evaluation projects outside the field of education that have employed an ethnographic approach such as a recent study of an HUD housing allowance program (Chambers, 1977).

NIE also funded the Far West Laboratory's study of teacher effectiveness, Beginning Teacher Evaluation Study (BTES). The aim of the research was to identify effective teacher behavior and classroom qualities that contributed to achievement in mathematics and reading. The qualitative product of the study was entitled: An Ethnographic Study of the Forty Classrooms of the Beginning Teacher Evaluation Study Known Sample (1975). The title, however, is misleading. The report more closely resembles a sociological investigation in terms of the methods employed, the researchers, and the data collected and reported. The greatest single drawback to the credibility of the findings in this study was that observers were on site at only one point in time for five days.

The Department of Labor funded the Youthwork National Policy Study of Exemplary In-School Demonstration Projects. This large scale study used the case study approach to address various prespecified policy questions regarding the transition of youth from school to work. The study produced a series of intern reports and professional papers. The results of interviews conducted and questions administered in 40 sites were reported in Education and Employment Training: The Views of Youth (1979). Interviews conducted and questions administered in 36 projects were reported in Targeting on In-School Youth: Four Strategies for Coordinating Education and Employment Training (1980). Both of these reports were based on an average of once a week on-site observations. In the latter report site visits were made over a period of four months. The principal investigator of this study was the trainer for the qualitative component of BTES. Similarly, this study was sociological rather than anthropological in character. In addition, serious methodological flaws significantly reduced the utility of the endeavor. For example, the sample size is extremely small. Although the title of the report was the views of youth, "no interviews were available from youth participating in programs of the in-school career awareness model, consequently the views reported are those of staff" (Rist, Hamilton, Holloway, Johnson, & Wiltberger, 1979, p. 117). In addition, various features of the conduct of the study compromise the validity of the conclusions. The response rate, for example, was extremely low. There was no response in 10 of the 12 sites studied regarding private sector programs (1979, p. 78).

Smaller scale evaluations such as the study of an urban alternative school used ethnographers to conduct the research (Wilson, 1977). These studies have been primarily formative in nature. Their most significant contribution has been their ability to provide feedback to those in programs.

NIE's Experience-Based Career Exploration Program provided an opportunity to explore the utility of ethnographic mini-studies. Part-time field workers were selected to conduct short term fieldwork (approximately 100 hours). A brief report of 20-25 pages was produced by the field workers. The report identified subtle features of program operations, e.g., informal education in the learning center (Alvarez & Hishiki, 1974). This approach represents the small scale or mini application of ethnographic techniques to educational evaluation.

The present study represents one of the earliest substantive attempts to apply ethnographic techniques and anthropological insights to a large-scale project within a time frame established to accommodate a more traditional educational evaluation. Ideally, much more time and additional ethnographers would have been available for a study of this type.* While it must be acknowledged that there are many drawbacks in reducing time normally required to conduct extensive fieldwork, this study suggests what can be done ethnographically within an extremely limited time. The data used in this report were drawn largely from OIC documents and communications, evaluation research conducted for the Task A study of implementation, site visits, and NIE monthly reports. Data were collected for Task C during Task A site visits conducted by two evaluators or one evaluator and one ethnographer. Each site was observed at three points in its development.

During each site visit the evaluator stayed at the site for five days, while the ethnographer remained for a minimum of ten days to gather additional data, to interact with informants casually over the weekend, and to observe alterations in the behavior of participants after the impact of the evaluation site visit diminished. The RMC site visits in the context of CIP operations were as follows.

(1) Site A took in its first cohort on March 20, 1978, just twelve weeks after its director was hired. The site took in the second cohort 18 weeks later (July 24). The first official data-collection visit was conducted on August 7-15. The third cohort of interns entered the program in

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*The proposal plan and budget had been written and provisionally accepted before the ethnographer was hired.

February 1979. The second site visit closely followed that intake (February 26-March 2). The third site visit was conducted shortly after the second following a major change in the CIP leadership (April 23-May 2). The fourth site visit followed intake of the fourth cohort in December 1979. The fifth site visit was conducted late April-early May 1980. The managing agency had just delivered the program operation monies to sites committed in January as funding for the extension. The last site visit was conducted in August 1980.

(2) Site B was organized 15 weeks before it took in its first cohort on April 17, 1978. The site took in the second cohort 26 weeks later (October 16). The first site visit was conducted from October 23 to November 2. The third cohort of interns entered the program February 1, 1979. The second site visit closely followed this intake (February 12-16). Another (brief) visit was made by the author (March 8) to show interns the pictures he had taken during the previous visit, to observe changes, and to speak informally with the director. The third official visit was conducted shortly after the second (April 23-27). The fourth site visit was conducted in December 1979. In March, 1980, a fifth site visit was made, following a series of break-ins. The director made public his decision to take a new position during this visit. The sixth visit was made in May, and the seventh in August 1980.

(3) Site C operated for eight weeks before taking in its first cohort on February 23, 1978. The site took in its second cohort 33 weeks later (October 11). The first site visit was conducted from October 30 to November 3. The third cohort of interns entered the program on February 5, 1979. The second site visit closely followed that intake (February 26-March 7). This site visit followed a major alteration in CIP leadership. The third site visit was conducted shortly after the second (May 7-11). The fourth site visit was made in December 1979, evidencing dramatic changes for the better with the institution of a new administration. The effect of funding difficulties dominated the fifth site visit observations in May 1980. A final site visit was made in August 1980, during a major shift in program leadership.

(4) Site D had 22 weeks before taking in its first cohort on June 5, 1978. The site took in its second cohort 19 weeks later (October 16). The first site visit was conducted from November 12 to 23. The third cohort of interns entered the program February 5. The second site visit closely followed the intake (February 8-17). This site visit followed a major change in CIP leadership. The third site visit was conducted shortly after the second (May 7-14). The fourth site visit was con-

ducted in December 1979, the fifth in March 1980, and the last site visit was made in August 1980.

Site visits were not made during the early months of operation because there were start-up problems for the sites, difficulties recruiting interns (for treatment and control groups), and because the evaluation staff was not fully assembled until May. In retrospect, site visits during these difficult periods would have been extremely useful. The first site visits were conducted shortly after intake of the second cohort to observe the program participants during orientation and the beginning of the term. The second site visit was also conducted almost immediately after the initiation of a cohort--in this case to observe the effects of the intensive recruitment that had been required to meet enrollment quotas and to observe the major leadership changes in two of the programs. Contractual deadlines between RMC and NIE/DOL required that the third site visit be conducted very shortly after the second.

The remaining site visits were scheduled to observe the intake of the following cohorts, changes in program leadership, and program operations at the end of the demonstration period. A number of conferences were attended and brief "unofficial" visits were made to the sites to observe program operation. In addition, the ethnographer observed the Philadelphia prototype CIP and attended the U.S. Presidential campaign speech and OIC/A workshops at the OIC/A Convocation in Miami, in June 1980.

The following ethnographic techniques were used during site visits: participant and non-participant observation, key informant interviewing, informal and structured interviews, collection of case study materials, triangulating information, and unobtrusive measures. Questionnaires were also disseminated; however they were formally part of the Task A implementation analysis and were not generated from the field situation. The author wrote up field notes each day and requested other site visitors to fill out a Daily On-Site Field Report form. Classroom observation notes were also made. A tape recorder and camera were used to record data. (Slides showing the participants and the environment were later used as projective techniques.)

The anthropological posture responsible for the adoption of these techniques can be summarized as a holistic, nonjudgmental, contextualized orientation. In addition, the philosophical base of phenomenology (Deutscher, 1975; Weber, 1975), rather than logical positivism [which is more characteristic of traditional inquiry in educational evaluation (Guba, 1978)] underlies the ethnographic method. The aim is to gather data from the emic or "insider's" perspective to understand "how the system works," relying on verbatim quotations obtained in informal interviews or elicited from expressive autobiographical interviews (Spindler & Spindler, 1970). The role was more like that of a student interested in learning how the pieces of a puzzle fit together than a traditional evaluator who enters the picture with explicit a priori assumptions about what the system is and how it works.

The same questions were asked of informants more than once in different forms to check for consistency over time and to provide the informant with opportunities to reply to the question from different angles. The environment was also taken into consideration. When informants provided cues suggesting that they wanted to speak but couldn't speak openly, the discussion was moved to a local coffee shop, a basement room, or a bar. Informal interviews with staff members were conducted outside the school building as often as possible because conversations were noticeably affected by role playing. When interviewed in their offices, staff members tended to play out whatever roles they held thus inhibiting the flow of useful communication.

The theoretical orientation used to formulate the specific methodology and the analysis included: structural functionalism (Radcliffe-Brown, 1965); network theory (Bott, 1971); symbolic interactionism (Blumer, 1962; Ogden & Richards, 1945); symbolism (Duncan, 1969; Schwartz & Merton, 1968; Van Gennep, 1960; Whitehead, 1928; Turner, 1964a, 1964b, 1969), and organizational theory (Allison, 1971; Easton, 1965a, 1965b; Kirst, 1970; March, 1965; March & Olsen, 1976; Sharkansky, 1974).

Structural functionalism guided the data-collection process and analysis of the data to determine the demonstration structure and the program structure and function--as well as the interrelationships among their parts. Network theory guided the interviews regarding intern interrelationships at home, in the community, and in the program. Symbolic interaction theory and symbolism was used to instruct observation of program participants, and of demonstration officials and official parties at conferences. Finally, organizational theory informed the data collection and analysis of the larger sociopolitical perspectives of the demonstration project. Drafts of all reports were sent to the sponsor and manager, OIC/A, the local affiliates, and the sites for review to provide a check on inaccuracies and misinterpretations. In addition, it provided an opportunity for various groups to add new insights and interpretations.

The Role

One of the most difficult problems faced in gathering data is that of being viewed as an evaluator (Everhart, 1975). The stereotypic concept of an evaluator as someone looking for problems or deficiencies effectively blocks many communication channels. Since the ethnographer is interested in finding out how the system works from the inside perspective, such barriers to communication must be broken down. The extent to which this type of problem exists was illustrated dramatically when personnel at one site refused to talk to the site visitors for a time because they were perceived as spies.*

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*See Colfer (1976) and Clinton (1976) regarding similar experiences in the Experimental Schools Program Study.

Participant Observation

Ethnographers attempt to immerse themselves in an environment to understand the situation or the system--allowing impressions and patterns to emerge from participation with and observation of participants. Ethnographic field work is guided by grounded theory (Glasser & Strauss, 1967). This involves developing and testing hypotheses and theories by interacting directly with field events. Field work of this type, according to Malinowski (1961), can only be done through long months of residence at the local scene. Of necessity, this study was done on a very different schedule. It was admittedly too brief, but the amount and quality of data that were collected suggest that Malinowski's position may be overstated for studies of American subcultures if site visits are spaced over time.

As Pelto (1970) writes:

> Every individual is a participant observer--if not of other cultures, then at least of his own. But the typical nonanthropological resident in a foreign community returns to his native haunts with a very unsystematic and incomplete picture of the scene he has observed. Field work requires much more than simply "being there" and passively watching what people are about. Often the fieldworker, in observing a particular pattern of behavior or an event, needs to find out a great deal more about that event than he is able to observe firsthand. His personal theoretical frame of reference suggests to him sets of questions to ask; relationships of this event to other types of data must be explored, and a host of other materials must be considered in order to make individual observations useful. In cases where the fieldworker feels that a significant block of information is available to him simply through his observation of a particular type of event, he may nonetheless need to devise ways of ensuring the representativeness and objectivity of his observations in a series of repetitions of the given event. By structuring observations and systematically exploring relationships among different events--through interviewing, watching, and perhaps administering "tests"--participant observation can be converted to scientific use. (p. 92)

Repeated patterns of behavior emerge and are identifiable, even if observation is not continuous.

Participant observation was conducted at the sites as described earlier. Specific activities included informally interacting with interns and staff at their homes; meeting and speaking with interns' parents; "hanging out" in the hallways or the side of the building with interns and staff; going out with intern friends to their "hang outs" in the street; attending Pentecostal church services with interns; being invited to wrestling matches; dancing at a CIP disco; participating in spelling bees in class; completing assignments; and teaching classes* at two of the programs.

Nonparticipant observation was characterized by simply observving interns and staff interacting in the classrooms, hallways, the cafeteria, and outside the building.

Key Informant Interviewing

"Working with informants is the hallmark of ethnographic field work," according to Spradley and McCurdy (1972). The difference between a respondent and an informant is that a respondent will respond to specific questions (usually honestly) whereas an informant answers specific questions and then supplies additional, unsolicited information (both related and unrelated to the question), giving the researcher a broader view of the situation. Spradley and McCurdy (1972) explain the process and difficulties in selecting informants:

> The ethnographic field worker must locate helpful people, win their cooperation, and establish a close, personal relationsip with them. This task is not simple, because it involves a basic conflict. On the one hand, the ethnographer establishes a relationship of trust with his informants. It is desirable that this be productive and beneficial to both parties. Often it is marked by friendship. On the other hand, the ethnographer seeks to know things that informants may be reluctant to reveal. Indeed, they may perceive that the researcher is asking them to tell secrets about other people to whom they are loyal. At the very least, they will be asked to talk about what they know in a manner that is new to them. Some of the ethnographer's questions may be embarrassing; others are outright stupid.

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*The author is a certified secondary school teacher with experience in individualized instruction.

This basic conflict is exacerbated when one is perceived in an evaluator's role as discussed earlier. Generally, working alone creates a less threatening atmosphere, more conducive to gathering data, than working in teams. Some informants are better than others, some individuals have had a great deal of experience in their current social situation and know the school system well. Another important characteristic of a good informant is his/her willingness and ability to talk or communicate. Many interns shared selections of their poetry, assignments, or segments of their diaries.

In this study, the author made use of a minimum of three to five key informants per site in order to increase the reliability of the obtained data. Four procedural steps were employed in working with key informants. The first was to develop good rapport. A second was to ask informants what they believed and what they thought others believed. This provided a check by comparison. Thirdly, consistency and reliability was checked by asking the same questions during successive interviews. The fourth step, referred to as triangulation, is discussed later. Key informants who cooperated in the study included directors, counselors, instructors (e.g., staff members), intern leaders, popular interns, secretaries, janitors, and community members (e.g., clergy and merchants).

Informal and Structured Interviews

Informal interviews. Many of the data were collected during informal interviews with interns and staff members, at lunch, or after school. The purpose of using informal interviews was to collect data in normal, "natural" settings. Information collected in the natural setting is more likely to reflect real conditions and constraints operating on the individual. This approach avoids many of the problems associated with role playing. In addition, this approach eliminates many of the problems that exist in the laboratory setting where artificial stimuli (stimuli isolated from the context in which an individual would actually be operating) produce an artificial response (a response that reflects the artificiality of the laboratory). Informal interviews were conducted at staff members' houses, an American Indian graveyard, a bar, in the author's car, a coffee shop, hotel rooms, "fronts," classes after school, staff offices, in the streets, and in interns' homes, among other places.

The telephone is one of the most important tools for gathering data informally although it is not discussed in the "contract ethnography" literature. A network of communication can be established on a regular basis. This is a particularly important device when extensive daily on-site participation and observation is not feasible or simply prohibitively expensive. The phone has been used in this study extensively to maintain contacts with interns, directors, staff personnel (including secretaries), the disseminator, and other parties. Many two- and three-hour calls were made to obtain current information about changes in the sites, to discuss situational problems (personal and professional as well as program-related) and to discuss political events related to the research.

Structured interviews. Structured interviews were conducted with each staff member. The author also conducted structured interviews with approximately 25 interns per site.

Each staff member was asked the following set of questions:

(1) How did you hear about the job (this position)?
(2) Had you heard about OIC before this?
(3) Where do you live? Where are you from originally?
(4) What were you doing before you got this position?
(5) Where did you go to school? What degrees do you have?
(6) Have you had any experience working with this population?
(7) What do you do in your role?
(8) What do you think about the lines of communication among staff and between staff and interns?
(9) Are there any problems you encounter in the program?
(10) What type of thing would you like to be doing several years from now?

Most of what was learned from these structured interview schedules is described in the Task A report (Treadway, Foat, Fetterman, Stromquist, & Tallmadge, 1979). However, an interesting finding that was not reported is that a large percentage of the professional staff members had been unemployed for long periods of time prior to their CIP jobs. This suggests that the program has a secondary (latent) function of providing qualified personnel with employment.

Interns were also asked to participate in a stuctured interview. Interns were asked the following set of questions.

(1) What do you think of CIP?
(2) What do you like about the program?
(3) What do you dislike about the program?
(4) What do you think of the staff?
(5) What do you think of the other interns?
(6) Where did you go to school before?
(7) What did you think about it? Why did you leave?
(8) How did you find out about the program?
(9) (If dropout) What were you doing before you came here?
(10) How many people are in your family?
(11) How do you get along with your family?
(12) What do your parents think about the program?

These questions are primarily open-ended to encourage respondents to answer in as full a manner as possible. They were usually followed by clarifying questions (Spradley & McCurdy, 1972). Responses have been used to draw inferences about specific sites and across sites.

Case studies and/or expressive-autobiographic interviews

> Key-informant interviewing frequently becomes so important in anthropological field work that extensive personal documents are collected from a small number of persons with whom the anthropologist has especially good rapport. The anthropologist is attracted to collecting extensive materials from persons who are unusually eloquent and sensitive in their presentation of personal and cultural data. Thus, in most cases, life histories represent the exceptional rather than the representative or average persons in the community. In spite of this fact, the richness and personalized nature of life histories afford a vividness and integration of cultural information that are of great value for understanding particular life ways. (Pelto 1970, p. 98-99)

Case studies of individual interns' backgrounds and progress through the program have been compiled to document the types of interns in the program and their development while in the program. Expressive autobiographic interviews have been used to develop the case studies. Expressive autobiographic interviewing according to Louise Spindler is:

> a cross between a structured interview and a chronological autobiography. The respondent is asked to tell the story of his or her life but intervention by the anthropologist at critical points...relevant to (specific topical points of interest)...turns the autobiography to relevant considerations and permits an economy of time that is not possible with the full autobiography. (Spindler & Spindler, 1970, p. 293)

Two interns per cohort per site have been tracked (with two alternates per cohort per site in case of unforeseen problems). The data collected about these individuals have been integrated into the study rather than portraying their lives and progress in the more common narrative format. The type of information gathered regarding the case studies has been outlined and is presented below.

Outline of CIP Case Study

I. Quotations - Verbatim

Quotations from participants are more useful than judgments (without direct evidence from participants)

II. Topic Areas Necessary for CIP Case Studies

A. Name, age, cohort, dropout or potential dropout

B. Environment: city, school, home

C. History/biography
  1. Home
  2. Former school experience, e.g., school hopping, counselors, teachers, peers, drugs, history of failure, etc., crime, few credits--blame self or others
  3. Experience as dropout or potential dropout
  4. How student became aware of CIP
  5. Why came to CIP/tests, etc.
  6. What intern wants to be (what did they want to be a year ago?)--ask new interns' career aspirations so we can ask them later in year
  7. Present activities: work, looking for a job, volunteer work, basketball, etc.
  8. Role in schools past and present--popular, marginal, pariah, etc. (from their peer perspective and from school role perspective)

D. Attitude towards CIP
  1. Atmosphere--supportive/oppressive--rules, attendance
  2. Teachers, counselors, staff, director (attitude and relationship with, how often do they see them)
  3. Individualized nature, classes, CCS, etc.
  4. Intern percepton of communication in CIP--between interns, interns -> staff, between staff
  5. Who does intern attribute success of program to?

E. Involvement in CIP
  1. Attendance (and attitude towards)
  2. Class performance--appointments/assignments/test taking/seriousness
  3. Dope
  4. Gym
  5. Disco
  6. Student council
  7. Hands-on experience

F. World View
    1. Attitude towards getting ahead, e.g., education as a vehicle (diploma), barriers--race, traditional education, teachers, etc.
    2. Attitudes towards former peers, gangs, former teachers, CIP teachers, old school
    3. Attitude towards parents, guardians, etc.

Triangulation

Triangulation is a basic tool used in ethnography--testing one source of information against another from various perspectives to arrive at a balanced interpretation of reality. Webb, Campbell, Swartz and Sechrest (1966) point out that

> The notion of a single "critical experiment" is erroneous. There must be a series of linked critical experiments, each testing a different outcropping of the hypotheses. It is through triangulation of data procured from different measurement classes that the investigator can most effectively strip of plausibility rival explanations for his comparison. (p. 174)

Hypotheses regarding the interrelationship among program components and "treatments" and "outcomes" on various levels were tested using various sources, e.g., staff perceptions, as checked by intern perceptions, as checked by program monitor observations, as checked by the author's participation and observation. Additional sources were also used to triangulate the data, e.g., written documents, attendance patterns, "hidden agendas" described in confidence, and so on.

Unobtrusive Measures

The ethnographer tries to remain unobtrusive throughout the research. This does not mean he or she does not take part in the groups' activities; on the contrary, participation is considered fundamental to understanding the experience, the situation, or the system. The ethnographer tries not to alter the existing situation markedly by his or her presence. The observation of a school basketball game or a dance, for example, represents an unobtrusive measure of staff/intern and intern/intern interaction.

Two unobtrusive measures extensively used in this study are described by Webb et al. (1966) and by Pelto (1970): physical traces--erosion and accretion--and archives and other written records.

Physical traces. Unobtrusive measures, both obvious and subtle, can be used to draw social inferences from physical evidence. The different states of disrepair of buildings, for example, provided preliminary indicators of relative affluence or poverty. Intern and staff apparel represented projections of their personality. Wearing a nose ring or wearing one's hair in corn rows, for example, is an expression of ethnicity. Wearing a Borsolini [hat] indicated possible gang affiliation or identification. Rabbit fur coats and layers of jewelry suggested possible identification with pimps or prostitition. Each of these measures served as a cue to probe further. The director at one site, for example, confided that the woman (who wore apparel corresponding with the apparel of street walkers of her age) was in fact still involved periodically in that lucrative profession. The change in specific interns' wardrobes between their initiation into the program and several months later was used as an index of personality change--or at least changes in self-presentation skills.

The amount of graffiti on bathroom walls served as an index of intern care or respect for "their" building. The reactions of staff and interns when graffiti were found provided further indications of attitudes toward and involvement in the CIP. Interns at two sites commented that "this was not right...to do this to our building...I like coming to a clean place;" "this is not no dump and we won't let it, either."

Wearing sneakers at one site is evidence of rebellion or in some cases (where the interns' shoes are downstairs in their lockers) it evidences a call for attention. These unobtrusive measures generally serve as cues requiring further corroboration and documentation. Still, they are informative by themselves.

Archives and other written records. Extensive written records have been available to the researchers in this study (particularly for use in this task). OIC/A has supplied extensive notes and documents ranging from training materials for the dissemination of the CIP to sample learning packets used at the sites, to critiques of drafts of evaluation reports and much more. The evaluation of the prototype site provided much useful information regarding the intended nature of the sites (Gibboney Associates, 1977). The evaluation reports themselves represent one of the most significant data sources in this task. In addition, NIE monthly progress reports have proved invaluable for obtaining an understanding of the monitor's perspective of the project development. The actual learning packets, textbooks, supplementary reading materials, and assignments used in the sites contributed to an understanding of the system and have been used to document the practice of individualized instruction and many other program patterns and practices. Interns' books with worn pages, underlining, and several book markers serve to indicate that the intern is using and studying the textbook, his or her grades on tests of that information are also used as further evidence that the intern has studied. Intern poetry, CIP-is-HIP award posters, election posters, the lack of graffiti, and so on have all been used as evidence of attitudes or patterns of behavior in the program.

Folktales and proxemics. Listening to community folktales about dropouts, for example, provides evidence as to how community members perceive dropouts. Intern folktales about gangs also serve to indicate how they feel about gang activities and the degree of their involvement or non-involvement.

Observations of the proxemics, "the hidden dimension of spacing and position among human beings," also serve to support various hypotheses. Instructors remaining distant from interns rather than entering their "personal body space" to help them on an assignment is indicative of the tenuous relationship between the two. Talking with interns while both the intern and the interviewer are lying in the grass with their feet crossed, eating lunch, is also indicative of the type of relationship that exists between the two parties. One of the most interesting examples of proxemics occured during a meeting of the study Advisory Panel. Individuals controlling the schedule (or attempting to) were observed sitting at one end of the conference room table while those who were antagonistic established their own territory near the other end. Coalitions were also evidenced by seating arrangements as were relative levels of power.

Questionnaires

Several variations of a Program Climate questionnaire were distributed to both staff and interns during site visits. These questionnaires were not developed out of the field experience; however, they served as useful indices of specific attitudes toward program personnel. In fact, preliminary statistical analyses reveal high correlations between on-site observations and the rating scales. The results of standardized reading and math tests analyzed by G. Kasten Tallmadge and Tony Lam (1979) also proved highly illuminating regarding the school's ability to accomplish its manifest goals. The use of this information in an ethnographic analysis as well as the active participation of the ethnographer in gathering, coordinating, and often supervising the procurement of these data should be emphasized. A myth has developed that ethnography is concerned exclusively with the qualitative domain. Good ethnography requires a "qualitative-quantitative" mix.

Field Notes

Extensive field notes were compiled using a "thick" descriptive technique (Geertz, 1973) to record most observations. Notes were taken during all formal and semi-formal interviews. Informal interviews were written up as soon as possible after they were completed using Powdermaker's (1966) technique of reconstructing the conversation with various mnemonic devices. Field notes were divided into three categories: actual observations, speculations and cues, and personal diary. Field notes were further subdivided by site and agency files, e.g., RMC, CIP, local OIC, OIC/A, NIE, and DOL. Site visit notes were written up each night. Agency files were maintained daily at first and then only as new material or observations were made.

Daily On-Site Field Report

The author designed a daily on-site field report for each evaluator to report his or her daily observations. The purpose of the report was to accumulate information from as many sources as possible. The recorded data were reviewed during and after each site visit to check for leads, discrepancies, and corroborating evidence. Colleagues' responses indicate as much about the observations as they do about the observer. On the following page is a copy of the ten questions on the Daily On-Site Field Report. The back of the page was used for additional comments or observations.

Classroom Observation Notes

The form entitled Classroom Observation Notes was also designed by the author for recording observations of classroom behavior. The form is organized into three parts: pre-classroom description, classroom instruction description, and post-classroom description.

Equipment: Tape Recorder and Camera

Tape recorder. It would have been impossible to write down long speeches. Life histories and interviews--formal or informal--were therefore recorded on audio tape. The tape recorder, however, had to be used judiciously and always with consent.

Tape recorders can inhibit individuals from speaking freely during interviews. A Watergate-like attitude remains regarding tape recorders and can place the interviewer in a poor light--significantly affecting the nature of the data that are recorded. In addition, taping everything is an ill-advised proposition. Transcribing tapes is an extremely tedious task as the author learned and as Pelto pointed out several years ago (1970). Transcriptions can be extremely useful, however, if there are sufficient funds to hire professional transcribers. In this study, budgetary considerations precluded the routine transcription of all tapes in their entirety. Certain segments of tapes were selected for transcription after they were reviewed.

DAILY ON-SITE FIELD REPORT FORM Date ____________

1. List and describe briefly your schedule of activities during the day (on back of sheet).

2. Briefly describe the neighborhood, e.g., clean or refuse on street, torn-down buildings, graffiti, individuals "hanging out" on the street, painted or well kept-up houses, gardens, etc.

3. Chart formal and informal social networks and/or hierarchy operating in the program (on back of sheet).

4. What are my general impresssions, e.g., atmosphere, general values and beliefs of participants, etc.?

5. What were my specific impressions about the program, e.g., specific behaviors and attitudes, etc.?

6. How is the evaluator perceived, e.g., your role, the control group, etc.? How do you interact with participants, e.g., at ease, uncomfortable with certain individuals, etc.? How are you perceived, e.g., evaluator, "buddy," trusted, not trusted, etc.?

7. How would I characterize the interaction and dialogue of staff, staff and interns, and among interns? Were individuals cooperative or factionalized? Were individuals open or not? Why? Specify any events you observed that you consider exceptions to the rule in the program.

8. Did something I expect to occur/to see not happen?

9. How is the program different from the other sites I have seen?

10. What are important areas for follow-up?

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Classroom Observation Notes

At the end of the day or as soon as possible, you should review your observations and notes and expand them in a few paragraphs, identifying routinely repeated patterns of behavior.

Date ______________________________

Site ______________________________

Observer ______________________________

Teacher/class ______________________________
name / subject

Pre-classroom description:

Classroom instruction description:

Post-classroom description:

The use of the tape recorder was also invaluable as a mechanism for getting acquainted with individuals and building rapport quickly. Once the center of activity was located, e.g., the school cafeteria or the ma-and-pa grocery store across the street, the ethnographer was able to enter the group as an enjoyable novelty. Playing the tapes back for individuals to hear themselves during a serious conversation provided comic relief--something to laugh about and enjoy. Other interns soon requested an opportunity to be interviewed or to sing or recite poetry. The tape recorder hanging from his shoulder soon became an important part of the ethnographer. After a few days, staff and intern alike only noticed when it was missing (the tape recorder).

A tape recorder can also be used to dramatize the confidential nature of some of the information exchanged between the informant and ethnographer. The informant may want to make a confidential remark to the ethnographer but not want it be recorded. The simple act of turning the machine off serves to amplify the promise "I won't tell anybody who gave me this information" under these circumstances. Similarly, if the ethnographer has some valuable piece of (personal) information to convey to the informant turning the recorder off emphasizes the trusting nature of the relationship.

Cameras. Collier (1967) describes some of the camera's special assets in ethnographic research.

> The camera is an automative tool, but one that is highly sensitive to the attitudes of its operator. Like the tape recorder it documents mechanically, but does not by its mechanics necessarily limit the sensitivity of the human observer--it is a tool of extreme selectivity.
>
> The camera's machinery allows us to see without fatigue; the last exposure is just as detailed as the first. The memory of film replaces the notebook and insures complete notation under the most trying circumstance. The reliably repetitive operation of the camera allows for comparable observations of an event as many times as the needs of research demand. This mechanical support of field observation extends the possibilities of critical analysis, for the camera record contributes a control factor to visual observation. Not only is it a check on eye memory, but further, it allows for an absolute check of position and identification in a congested and changing cultural event.

> Photography is a legitimate abstracting process in observation. It is one of the first steps in evidence refinement that turns raw circumstances into data that is manageable in research analysis. Photographs are precise records of material reality. They are also documents that can be filed and cross-filed as can verbal statements. Photographic evidence can be endlessly duplicated, enlarged or reduced in visual dimension, and fitted into many schemes of diagrams, and by scientific reading, into many statistical designs.

In this regard, the camera proved to be a reliable means of documenting ethnographic observation in this study. Individualized instruction, intern apparel and interaction, staff hierarchies (formal and informal), and numerous other events were documented on film.

The 35mm SLR camera also proved invaluable in the field in much the same way that the tape recorder served the ethnographer. Collier speaks of the "can opener" effect of the camera as a tool to provide rapid entry into community and immediate familiarity and cooperation. The camera was used in this study in precisely this fashion. One intern would ask about the camera, which led into another conversation, which led into a photograph. Other interns began crowding around wanting their portraits captured on film. In addition, interns and staff would request that the author bring the pictures back to the site when he returned, thus maintaining continuity and an open-door policy. In fact, one unscheduled visit was made to site B to show interns photographs promised to them. This tool was critical for rapid entry into a community given the severe limitations of time in contract ethnography (Everhart, 1975). It was also a vehicle for maintaining some level of reciprocity with informants.

The author discovered in the process of using the camera as an "ice breaker" that it produced a second level can-opener effect not discussed in the literature. Informants were much more relaxed and open with the author after being photographed in careful portrait fashion than under normal circumstances. After realizing this fact, he began each interview with a brief introduction, a little casual conversation, and a photograph. The photograph appeared to convey a compliment to the informant thus creating an initial willingness to talk--it made even the most simple-minded questions tolerable. Secondly, the actual photographing process served as a kind of projective technique. Informants struck poses characteristic of the images they have of themselves--often in an exaggerated, caricature-like form. These poses provided cues or hints about why interns interacted with staff or interns in specific manners and how individuals perceived themselves over time.

Photographs can as easily "turn people off" as they can "turn people on." They must be used judiciously and with consent, as with the tape recorder. Following Collier's suggestions, only shots of positive events were taken at first so as not to produce a "negative" halo effect (Asche, 1946). Later, as trust was earned and informants understood the purpose of the shots in greater detail, the negative aspects could be photographed without upsetting anyone.

The camera was used to document kinesics (Birdwhistle, 1952) or culturally patterned postures and gestures (body language) of participant interactions. The camera also captured proxemic patterns (Hall, 1966) in the sites (the spacing between people and body orientation). This information was used to support specific hypotheses regarding intern/staff interaction patterns and old versus new intern interaction patterns. The camera was also extremely useful in documenting the behavior referred to earlier where individuals and factions displayed various postures and sat in specific places at the conference table while attending an Advisory Panel meeting.

The site photographs (slides) were also shown to other members of the project staff to cross check perspectives with the perceptions of other on-site visitors. The slides were also used as mnemonic devices to facilitate recall.

Slides taken on the previous site visit were shown each time the author returned to a site. The entire school usually gathered in the cafeteria to view the slides and the reactions of the viewers were often highly informative. Pictures of certain staff, for example, received cheers, others hisses. Specific comments regarding individuals in the pictures also proved highly illuminating. Intern comments regarding other interns were the most useful. Comic laughter at one intern's photograph was explained as "they're just laughin' at how much of a big man he thought he was then; see his chin and his eyes?" Groans of disgust elicited from another slide of an intern was interpreted as "the pest...she thinks she's so high and mighty." Friendly humming intonation by the interns regarding another slide was interpreted as "she's the sexpot."

The intern's interpretations were checked on the spot by other interns sitting in the immediate vicinity who openly made corrections or additions to the first intern's interpretation. These observations were also cross checked by additional informal interviewing. This technique can be highly obtrusive; however, deleterious effects can be avoided if proper attention and sensitivity is directed toward the effort. This particular "ethnographic technique" proved so useful that it can be recommended for future use in other studies.

III. THE PROBLEM

Policy makers have identified high rates of dropping out of school and youth unemployment, especially severe among poor and minority youth, as the problem. The Request for Proposal states this problem succinctly:

> In 1973, over 10% of youth aged 14 to 24 left high school before receiving a high school diploma. The percentage of those [who] left school was higher for Blacks than for whites: among 18 and 19 year-olds, 27.7% of the Black females had dropped out in 1973, in contrast to 14.1% for white males and 15.2% for white females. Dropping out meant bad economic news. According to the U.S. Department of Labor, 20% of high school dropouts between the ages of 16 and 24 were unemployed in 1974, compared with 10% of all high school graduates. When dropout unemployment rates are compared by race, youth from Black and minority groups are doubly disadvantaged: about 16% of white youth without high school diplomas aged 16 to 24 were unemployed in 1974; 32% of dropout youth from Black and other minority groups wanted jobs and could not find them. (National Institute of Education, RFP NIE-R-78-0004, 1978)

Policy makers have supported the development of programs designed to enable young people to graduate from secondary school and increase their career awareness and career planning skills. The ultimate objective of these programs is to increase the employability of young people and thereby improve their prospects for (conventionally perceived) productive and satisfying lives.

The stark reality of the statistics cited above and the human suffering they represent are recognized. However, these numbers only represent symptoms of a larger systemic disorder. The root cause of the disorder lies in the inequities of the entire sociocultural system. Public education, a part of that system, can and has served as a mechanism to perpetuate such social and economic inequities (Warner, 1944; Rist, 1970, 1973; Wilcox, 1978; Ogbu, 1978). Urban school staff particularly serve to disadvantage minority groups (Spindler, 1974) with low expectations and self-fulfilling prophesies (Rist, 1970; Rosenfeld, 1971). In addition, urban schools often mis-educate students and then blame the students for their own mis-education (Ryan, 1971).

Ogbu (1978) suggests a useful way of looking at the relationship between education and social structure in this regard, following a long line of scholars in the field of socialization (Aberle & Naegele, 1952; Aberle, 1961; Cohen, 1971; Inkeles, 1955, 1968; Kohn, 1969; LeVine, 1967; LeVine, Klein, & Owen, 1967; Miller & Swanson, 1958). Ogbu speaks of:

> the notion that socialization or child training is the preparation of the child for adult life as his or her society or segment of society conceives it. That is, socialization is the process by which individuals acquire the skills (cognitive, manual, etc.), motives, knowledge, and attitudes which enable them to perform typical social and economic roles available to adult members of their society and be fully integrated into the society. (p. 16)

This perspective replaces the antiquated and ethnocentric cultural-deprivation and genetic-difference theories used to explain "the problem." (The major deficiencies of cultural deprivation theory are discussed by Ryan (1971)).

Schools are successfully serving society if the goal is to perpetuate the existing social stratification. They are failing to serve students if the goal is to pursue the democratic ideal of equality of opportunity. The content of the curriculum employed in schooling usually serves as a vehicle for transmitting values. For example, a teacher announces that a paper on the geography of the city is to be submitted this Friday with a penalty of one-half a grade lower for each day the paper is late. This assignment serves as a vehicle for emphasizing and transmitting such cultural values as punctuality and obedience. The segment of the city chosen by the student and the teacher's response to the paper, as well as the student-teacher relationship itself all represent the medium for the communication or mis-communication of values.

Schools, through their teachers, counselors, and curricula, attempt to transmit the "appropriate" set of values to a given socioeconomic class to prepare them for their specific role in the labor market. Social scientists and educators alike have long been concerned about the contradiction posed by (a) the role of schooling as a mechanism for socializing individuals into specific segments of the labor force and (b) democratic ideals of equality of opportunity.

> Schooling has basically served to instill the values of an expanding industrial society and to fit the aspirations and motivations of

> individuals to the labor market at approximately the same level as that of their parents. Thus it is that some children find themselves slotted toward becoming workers and others toward becoming the managers of those workers. (Rist, 1973, p. 2)

American public education reinforces the inequity present in American society--creating winners and losers. Katz (1971) suggests that the process by which this occurs is not new or fortuitous.

> There is a functional relationship between the way in which schools are organized and what they are supposed to do. That relation was there a century ago and it exists today. (p. xviii)

Warner (1944) demonstrated the process whereby schools socialized students to enter their (or their parents') appropriate social class. Similarly, Thernstrom (1964) demonstrated how the Boston schools of the 19th century were used to maintain the existing class system in the United States. Schools were agents of social control by which the dominant sector of society created a "disciplined, punctual, obedient, skilled and willing" labor force to fill the rapidly expanding factories (Thernstrom, 1964). Wilcox (1978) presents a contemporary picture of how blue-collar schools produce blue-collar adults, for example, by employing a curriculum that emphasizes externally imposed methods of motivating students "to behave in ways the teacher or school considers appropriate." In contrast, she talks of middle-class schools producing middle-class adults by employing a curriculum that involves teaching students to internalize and identify with the norms and requirements of the school "so as to be self-directing within that context." Rist (1973) has contributed to the perspective through his discussion of the myth of equality in education regarding the "twin notions of enhanced individual social and economic mobility and the further strengthening of the democratic process through the creation of an enlightened citizenry." He suggests

> School establishments perpetuate the myth of opportunity by a distortion of reality: schools cannot fail, only children fail. Teachers, trapped between the community and the brokers of power within the schools, have sided with the establishment and have come to accept the definition that the onus of failure should be placed squarely on the backs of those who fail. Ironically, what the teachers create through their expectations for children is precisely

> what the schools were designed to make real--class inequality disguised as individual differences. (p. 20)

This perspective on the myth of equality in society and in the classroom is echoed by Thomas (1973) when he discusses American education in the context of our socioeconomic system.

Katz (1971) suggests vocational schools were used to accommodate the influx of working-class students into the high schools at the turn of the century--without threatening the pre-existing class-stratified society.

> It [vocational school] was also a solution fit for poor children; it would permit them to attend secondary school without exhibiting aspirations beyond their class. It would continue to instill in them the attitudes and skills appropriate to manual working class status. Regardless of the rhetoric of its sponsors, vocational education has proved to be an ingenious way of providing universal secondary schooling without disturbing the shape of the social structure and without permitting excessive amounts of social mobility. (p. 121)

Schools have been and continue to be used to prepare students for the division of labor that is a by-product of the economic system. The high rates of dropping out and unemployability are not the problem per se, rather they suggest that schools are not adequately preparing students for "productive" available roles in society and in fact may be alienating them from the conventional "world of work." Society, however is not in a state of equilibrium; it is changing constantly. Schools as a formal social institution have predominantly served to maintain the status quo--in this case a highly stratified class system. They have also been used, however, and can be used to alter a group's position in the larger socioeconomic system.

Revolutionaries aim at destroying or fundamentally changing the structure of the system. They seek to raise "class consciousness" among exploited groups to make individuals aware of their role (in terms of classes) in the economic system regardless of race, ethnicity, religion, sex, and so on. The purpose of this consciousness-raising is to make individuals aware of how their role is a function of the larger economic system that generates inequities--winners and losers. School, from this perspective, parallels the typical social scientific view of school, a formal institutional extension of the larger socioeconomic system intended to perpetuate a highly stratified class society. Revolutionaries are generally at war with reformers who tend to inhibit significant social structural change because "they are on the other side of the fence."

Reformers in contrast are a part of "the system." They generally attempt to alter a specific group's position in the larger socioeconomic system without affecting the fundamental structure of society. They attempt to generate "change" through the mechanics of the system, e.g., hard work, delayed gratification, organized interest groups, political power, and so on. Reformers view school as a mechanism to secure (upward) social mobility for a specific, e.g., ethnic or religious, group or set of groups.

OIC/A is a reformer dedicated to the existing economic system. One of their primary goals is to change the social and economic status of minorities in the United States. They are fully aware of the facts that Gibboney Associates presented in their final report

> Dropping out is culturally selective. It hits hardest at families of lower socio-economic status. For both whites and non-whites, the higher the educational level of the parents, for example, the lower the chances of a male youth from that family dropping out. Moreover, more non-white youth come from poorer homes, so dropouts come disproportionately from minority youth. In 1973, for example, there were almost twice as many Black men and women dropouts among 14 to 24 year olds (18% and 19%, respectively) as white men and women (10% and 11%, respectively). (Gibboney Associates, 1977, p. 5)

OIC/A as a reformer views education as a vehicle to alter "the problem." The problem as OIC/A sees it is that a disproportionate number of Black men and women are dropping out or are at high risk of dropping out of high school. OIC/A, in response, conceived, developed, and tested the Career Intern Program in the early and middle 1970s. The CIP is an alternative high school for dropouts and students at high risk of dropping out of high school. The basic manifest function of the school is to assist students to earn high school diplomas; the fundamental latent aim is to produce upward social mobility primarily for lower socioeconomic class Blacks and other minorities. Marland recognized the purpose at the first school's inception in 1972:

> I cannot emphasize strongly enough that this is not simply more vocational education for Blacks, something that has properly been attacked in the past as tending to segregate Blacks into semi-skilled occupations, reserving college for the white middle class. (Marland, cited in Gibboney Associates, 1977)

In sum, two different groups--one representing the dominant group, one representing the "oppressed," work together within the system to attempt to solve what each perceive as "the problem." Federal agencies have an interest in remedying a "faulty" transition from school to work, to maintain the labor force required of the larger socioeconomic system. Reformers are dedicated to serving those individuals who continue to find the transition from school to work filled with obstacles. The reformer's ultimate objective is to promote the social mobility of the "disadvantaged" or "disenfranchised" group. Both parties are focused on the dropouts or those at high risk of dropping out of high school. The objectives may differ, but, in the definition of the population to be served and the perceived (educational) solution, the parties converge. The parties join forces to treat the symptoms. While the root of the illness is not directly addresed by the CIP or by OIC, the symptoms of the disease are no less real. Dropping out "hurts" emotionally and financially as hundreds of thousands of individuals testify each year. The CIP, in this regard, represents one of the successful attempts to attack "the problem."

IV. THE ENVIRONMENT

The four CIP "replications" are adapting to four different environments that produce varying influences and constraints on program operation. One site is located in a multi-racial, multi-ethnic city and the program competes with numerous alternative programs. In addition, according to staff members, the "deceptively subtle" nature of poverty and, to a lesser extent, discrimination in this city produces "a sort of complacency" among interns. Another site is located in a "cosmopolitan" city plagued with the social ills characteristic of many inner cities throughout the United States--drugs, prostitution, arson, property decay, and so on. A third site is located in a community characterized by a "provincial conservatism," according to staff members. The fourth site is located in a "blue-collar" industrial city where "gang influences" were extremely powerful in the sixties. The gang influence, however, has been significantly reduced in the city.

A brief examination of the environments in which these sites operate places the program operation in context.

Site Descriptions

Site A

The city where Site A is located has approximately 500,000 residents and is ethnically diverse. Its minority population (17%) includes equal proportions of Blacks, Asians, Spanish Americans, and native Americans. The city has a diversified economy and, as one instructor commented: "The economy is now in an upswing. There are lots of jobs with _____ now. There is unemployment but [it] is very low." (The unemployment rate for its 16- to 21-year-old youth is approximately 16%.)

Urban decay is not as prevalent as in some major cities, though there are areas of poverty and substandard housing. One instructor described the city comparatively:

> I lived in _____ and _____, but [this city] is really like a small town to me. There is poverty, there is prostitution, drugs, but on another scale. The houses where the low-income people live are nice looking, have their yards, are well kept--but they are still nothing compared to the ghettos of _____ and _____.

One of the staff members, a former real estate salesman, gives a brief abstract of the city--pointing out the location and composition of the local Chinatown, the affluent and economically depressed, the liberal and the conservative areas of the city. Regarding discrimination and housing he reported:

> The dollar is still pretty much predominant... (I live in the west section.) That's where I grew up. And there are, there are a lot of liberal people living over there. Right in the middle of this conservatism. In fact, the founders and the key movers in _____ [a local community group] are centered in the west area. They are the ones opposing integration, opposing busing.
>
> Yeah, surprisingly enough a lot of the people that are really involved in this (anti-integration group) are very affluent people from (all) sides of the city. They see cultural pluralism as an economic thing. Well they still believe in the myth that if you have the wrong people living next door. I sold Real Estate in _____ about three years ago. In this city we have equal housing laws that carry some very stiff fines and penalties so any realtor in the city who is going to interview anyone who wants to live in a house. But I was very specifically told by the manager in the Real Estate firm I worked for, when I asked how come we don't have more Black business? He...said "We don't need any and it was said show them houses but don't show them any good ones, because some of them have money." Isn't that awful.
>
> That's amazing.
>
> Then of course you have the Black capitalists. They are more red lining in the _____ section than in any other section of the city. Beautiful, beautiful homes...so the people who have money buy the red line homes and go in and they have these mahogany interiors. Well they're marvelous, they're absolutely marvelous. They rewire them and they put in new glass and they have homes that are the envy of the entire city. But the people who need to buy these houses who want to live, the poor, the Blacks and etc., can't buy them. That's the red lining.

Concerning city youth and gang influences, the same instructor commented: "Youths don't hang around on corners here. I haven't heard about gangs. That's why it is so hard to find dropouts here. They are not as visible as in other cities."

The city is also characterized by a "complacency"--the result of a deceptively subtle form of poverty where "there is just enough to get by" according to a former staff member. This individual comments on the aspects of the environment.

> There are jobs out there, short term and the like, but they don't go anywhere. They (interns) don't realize that.... Poverty in this city is deceptively subtle, don't let it fool you. You won't see the torn down crumbling buildings like _____ [another major city] but you go on _____ and _____ the houses don't look too bad but its worse in a way. They (interns) are satisfied with their position in life. Their part-time jobs. A dollar's worth of gas is enough for most of them that have cars. They'll just cruise on it until they're empty. Then they'll just wait until they earn another couple of dollars.... It's not like poverty like you see in other cities, its deceiving.

The site itself is housed in half of a former religious school. A low-income apartment complex faces the CIP directly across the street. A few deteriorated houses can be found down the block. The site is located near a local "main drag," and is only a mile from one of its feeder high schools. Many of the public schools in the city have programs for teaching English as a second language and offer approximately 23 different language programs for the city's diverse population.

At Site A, unlike the three other sites, the CIP was assigned the status of an alternative high school by the local school district. The LEA has a history of allowing alternative programs, and its policy is to have these operate as part of the LEA. As a result, the LEA has established a special administrative unit to guide and monitor the CIP on site. Therefore, this site represents a test case regarding CIP institutionalization in the public school system. Successful assimilation of the CIP would suggest that the public school system represents a viable avenue for program proliferation. The attitudes, structure, and policies of the conventional system accompanying incorporation or assimilation may, on the other hand, produce counteracting effects.

Site B

The CIP in Site B is located in an inner-city area of a major metropolitan center. The local population is ethnically mixed: Black, Puerto Rican, Castillian Spanish, Italian, and Jewish. The youth unemployment rate is 57%. The immediate neighborhood of the CIP facility is moderately deteriorated. While there are burned-out buildings and litter strewn about the streets in the neighborhood, there are also many well maintained homes with neat stoops and yards. The area from which interns are drawn includes large tracts of severely depressed neighborhoods.

The area is plagued with the social ills characteristic of many inner cities throughout the United States--drugs, prostitution, arson, property decay, and so on. A local merchant pointed out that the area was

> a wealthy community, what--seven or eight years ago. The mayor used to bring his big-wig guests here with the ticker tape and everything. But now look at it. It's the same as everywhere, I guess. The white flight, they call it--they moved out and the Blacks and the Puerto Ricans, they moved in. You know it's not so different, though I was brought up in _____. That's when it was only Yehudim [Jews] you know, and you knew. Let's be honest--we had some of the same kinds of problems, but we always cared; it's different now, you know. Today nobody cares, nobody cares.

Especially noticeable in the surrounding blocks are many boarded-up or burnt-out buildings left partially standing. The shopkeepers, parents, CIP staff, and interns all give the same explanation: arson. A local minister, who is on many city council committees, offered the same opinion heard from various sources:

> They sold us out, the city fathers. They don't give a damn. The shopkeepers around here, I've known them all for years. They're running scared. They hire out to burn down their buildings. It's for the insurance. And the crime of it is HUD won't put any money into a block that has two or more houses burnt down in it. They figure it's not worth it--the rest of the block will go before long. It used to be there was a building burning down three to four a day. Now it is at a standstill; maybe it's time for a turnaround.

Interns point out the "beautiful nonsense" of the streets--old men with the DTs urinating on buildings, pimps wearing platform shoes and rabbit fur coats, open prostitution and dope transactions, gambling, "boosting," young men pitching pennies "just passing time." An informant introduced one of the evaluators to Colombia [pseudonym], "the main man." Colombia was the ultimate street entrepreneur. Typically, he was garbed in flashy and expensive apparel. He always wore his wide-brim tan hat and was bedecked with layers of glittering jewelry--golden chains and ruby rings. Colombia said he liked "to dress the part." It was his way of "promoting the pro-fes-sion." He sold men and women--no children--and boasted of his ability to secure any type of accessory required to perform any crime. The same informant who introduced the evaluator to Colombia mentioned "he's pickin' 'em now" (looking for recruits or apprentices).

Other features of the community that are noticeable are the fronts and the police. Knowing all the places in town to "cop dope" is a valuable part of street knowledge for many youths. The front is one of the more interesting places to "cop dope." A front might be, for example, a record shop or a health food store that sells legitimate products as a cover for its major business, selling narcotics. In the first front observed, two police officers clearly recognized and then calmly walked by an open drug transaction in the store. When asked why no action had been taken, the key informant replied:

> They don't need the money. They'll only bust you if they need the money you know. They get paid off regular. You take some of them, though, they'll just reach right into the register and pull the money out and leave you the nickel [bag of marijuana] that they came in to bust you for in the first place, you know what I mean, and then they let you go free, you know, as if nothin' ever happened.

This is the community atmosphere--a climate conducive to crime, dropping out, or just hanging out. The role models of "successful" adults, both male and female, are often associated with criminal activities. Though many interns come from "good homes" with responsible and respectable adult models, the street culture--a very powerful environmental force affecting interns--cannot be ignored. The program is faced with the task of altering strongly reinforced street culture behaviors and values that are antithetical to the CIP world of work values and rules of behavior.

Site C

Site C is a city of approximately 32,000 residents in a semi-rural area. Its main street divides the city economically. Upper-middle class citizens live primarily on the south side and lower socio-economic class citizens on the north side of the town. Many middle-income individuals have been economically "forced" to live in the suburbs.

Since the early sixties there has been rapid growth of subburbanization and shopping centers. Manufacturing and retail trade provide the most common forms of employment in the community. The poorer section of the city has well maintained single dwellings with some substandard housing and a very few houses that are boarded up. The lower socioeconomic class in the community includes both Black and white families. Youth unemployment is approximately 80%.

The majority of CIP staff members and ex-staff members commented on the "conservative" nature of the community. One staff member said, "Both the Black and white communities are provincial in their attitudes."

Two of the white staff members from the south side perceived no real provincialism in the community; however, they also said they spent very little time in the north end of the city. The majority of the Black staff members described the community as "up south,"--that is, the city is physically located in the north but the community climate is often like that in "the deep rural south." One individual said: "When you call to help set up a Hands-On for the intern and the voice on the other end says something like 'those people,' you know who you're dealin' with." Ex-career developers have commented on the reluctance of community members to assist dropouts in general and minorities in particular in "anti-poverty" programs.

Most of the interns complained about the pressures they experienced at their former high school: administrators were "lookin' to throw me out all the time," instructors "just not carin' about nobody," and fellow students who would lure them away from the classroom to "get high and just hang out."

Many young men in the CIP have police records. They characterized the police as unfair and often corrupt. One intern complained about being arrested for trespassing on private property--describing it as a form of harrassment. Another intern described his treatment by the local police after being arrested for participating in a minor riot after a basketball game.

> When they got me to the police station they didn't waste no time. Boy, first thing they did, put me up there to the desk, took my handcuffs off. Why did you take the handcuffs off? I'm watchin' three cops over there right in front of me takin' off their rings, their watches, their belt, their raincoat. (They beat you up?) They tried. (For real they tried to beat you up down at the station? Well what stopped them?) They were swingin' a couple of times but I got all in the corner and got behind the chair couldn't get to me good. And my mother came down there

> to the station about 15 minutes after I was there and wild. And, you know, like she wanted to see me right, and I heard the sergeant say, "You ain't seein' nobody no time tonight." All of a sudden she starts cryin' and there they is. I hear her out their cryin' right. They're in the back tryin' to beat me up and I, heck with this, I'm going' out there. (You swing back?) Yeah, I swung back. I opened up the door and I said "Maaa."

Though most CIP interns in Site C had never been arrested, the perception of police harrassment was common. So were feelings that the social system is geared to keep minority citizens out of the mainstream of economic life.

Site D

Site D is in a large urban center with 1,500,000 residents. The majority of the city's population is Black, representing every socioeconomic level. The city's economy is heavily dependent on manufacturing. Unemployment is high among the 16-22 year old group, averaging 26% for the entire city and rising to 56% in the inner city.

The CIP is in an inner city neighborhood characterized by high population density, poverty, and an array of social problems. Housing conditions range from standard to substandard. There are several boarded-up homes throughout the neighborhood.

The area was one of the "toughest" parts of the city--often referred to as the "DMZ" (for demilitarized zone), however, staff members pointed out that it was much worse on the "west side." Gang wars and struggles for power between pimps and drug dealers erupted in bursts of urban terrorism during the sixties. Today much of the overt and arbitrary violence has diminished, but illicit activites remain firmly rooted in the area and periodically produce waves of violence. Many young people know or associate with gang members, if they are not actually in the gangs. Youths spend much of their leisure time swapping stories about "gang happenings" such as shoot-outs, brawls, looting, and so on. The recent cancellation of a contemporary film that popularizes gang activity is indicative of the city's fear of any large-scale revival of gang activities, according to a high-ranking city official.

The police do not patrol the area regularly in the winter, but in the summer "they're all over the place." Many of the males in the area have police records. Bitter complaints about how young people are treated by the police are common. "You gotta watch out for them, they'll pull you right off the street and slap you across the head for looking sideways around here, 'cause they're as scared as we are."

The public schools are typical of inner-city high schools. Observed in one school were students lined up along the corridor walls, staring into space, completely "burnt out." This school in particular, only a few blocks from the CIP, has a reputation for violence. Fights break out every day in the school building. Once a month some student is arrested for assault with a deadly weapon with intent to kill, and occasionally there are killings on the school grounds. Such a school environment is clearly not conducive to learning. It is not surprising that much peer pressure among youth works against staying in school. As one youth reported:

> Friends would come by just before class and say, "Hey." What are ya gonna say? So you cut your classes and the next thing you know you ain't goin' to school no more. We'd meet at the building, me and my friends, you know, every morning and we'd just hang out and get high, you know.

However, other factors contribute to the incidence of dropping out. For instance, family pressures may not encourage youths to continue school. Although many interns come from conventionally stable family backgrounds, there are almost as many that do not. A CIP staff member painted this bleak picture of many young peoples' homes:

> Most of these families are poor and the parents really can't offer them much.... A lot of them say "ain't in a good mood" when they come home 'cause they're doing somethin' they don't enjoy and all they know is get out of here and go to school.... Sometimes the parent tells them, "I don't care where you go as long as you leave here"...sometimes that hurts a lot more than it helps. Instead of actually sitting down and telling 'em "Hey, this is what education can do for you; if you want nice things you have to work for them...." It takes place in the home...instilling in them to go to school.

In many cases, the lack of an adult role model in the home leaves young men in search of an identity.

> There are so many families here with no father you know. They have no one to look up to. The male plays a big role in how a child develops. They see a guy that...he's tough and everything,

> I want to get on his bandwagon. I'll follow him, see what he's about and that's how most of them go astray. That's one of the reasons CIP is here, because of those things...no father in the home, that's the beginning of dropouts.

The dynamics of late adolescence and young adulthood exacerbate the many external factors working on young people:

> They never really owned anything. Most of them come from big families and they have to share everything, and they want to get off to themselves and do somethin' on their own--you're accomplishin' somethin'. They want to buy new things, clothes for school, and do extra things. They want to start out on their own. Like I said, they're 20-21, you know, and most people here in _____ get out when they're 18 and 19 because they can't really deal with the family structure. If you sit back everytime and you're at home you have to ask, sometimes beg or whatever, to get some of the things you know you'd enjoy if you're working. They don't feel independent and sometimes some of them are forced to leave because of their attitudes and some just want peace of mind.

In an environment such as this, young people have few alternatives offering realistic hope for a way out. The CIP therefore would seem to be exactly the sort of program needed to help youths escape.

V. THE DEMONSTRATION AND THE PROGRAM: BASIC STRUCTURE, FUNCTION, AND INTERRELATIONSHIPS

A brief review of the demonstration structure, function, and interrelationships is provided here to portray the complex context in which the Career Intern Program operates. This recapitulation will be followed by a more detailed examination of the structure, function, and interrelationships of the program itself. Diagrams of the interrelationships are presented to familiarize individuals new to the study with the basic CIP structure and to set the framework for the discussion of interrelationships. It is also provided to assist future adoptors of the program.

The Demonstration: Hierarchical Networks

The Department of Labor, as authorized by the Youth Employment Demonstration Project Act (YEDPA) legislation, has given the National Institute of Education funds to disseminate and evaluate the Career Intern Program. (The origins and the funding of the original CIP were discussed in Chapter I.) NIE contracted with OIC/A, the developers of the prototype, to disseminate and implement the program. In addition, NIE awarded RMC Research Corporation a contract to conduct the evaluation of the replication of the Career Intern Program.

OIC/A allocates funds to CIPs through local OICs. The local OICs are the sponsors and administer CIP budgets. Therefore, while the OIC serves as an intermediary between OIC/A and the CIP, it also plays an influential role in the CIP's daily operations.

As NIE has contracted with OIC/A to conduct the dissemination of the CIP, so OIC/A uses the local OICs to facilitate the early stages of implementation, e.g., conducting a feasibility study, selecting a building, making initial contacts with LEAs, and so on. OIC/A, however, also assists the CIPs directly in the start-up as well as in operation, e.g., conducts LEA-union negotiations, conducts workshops, and has a subcontract clause that allows direct intervention and assistance as needs are perceived. (See Figure 1 for a summary of the hierarchical relationships among funding and dissemination/implementation roles.)

NIE awarded RMC the evaluation contract to study the Career Intern Program. The contractually specified work statement encompasses studying funding and managing agencies, monitoring evaluation effects, and analyzing dissemination strategies, communication networks, and specific interactions at the site level. Thus the study involves looking at all relevant participants and agencies, not just the CIP sites.

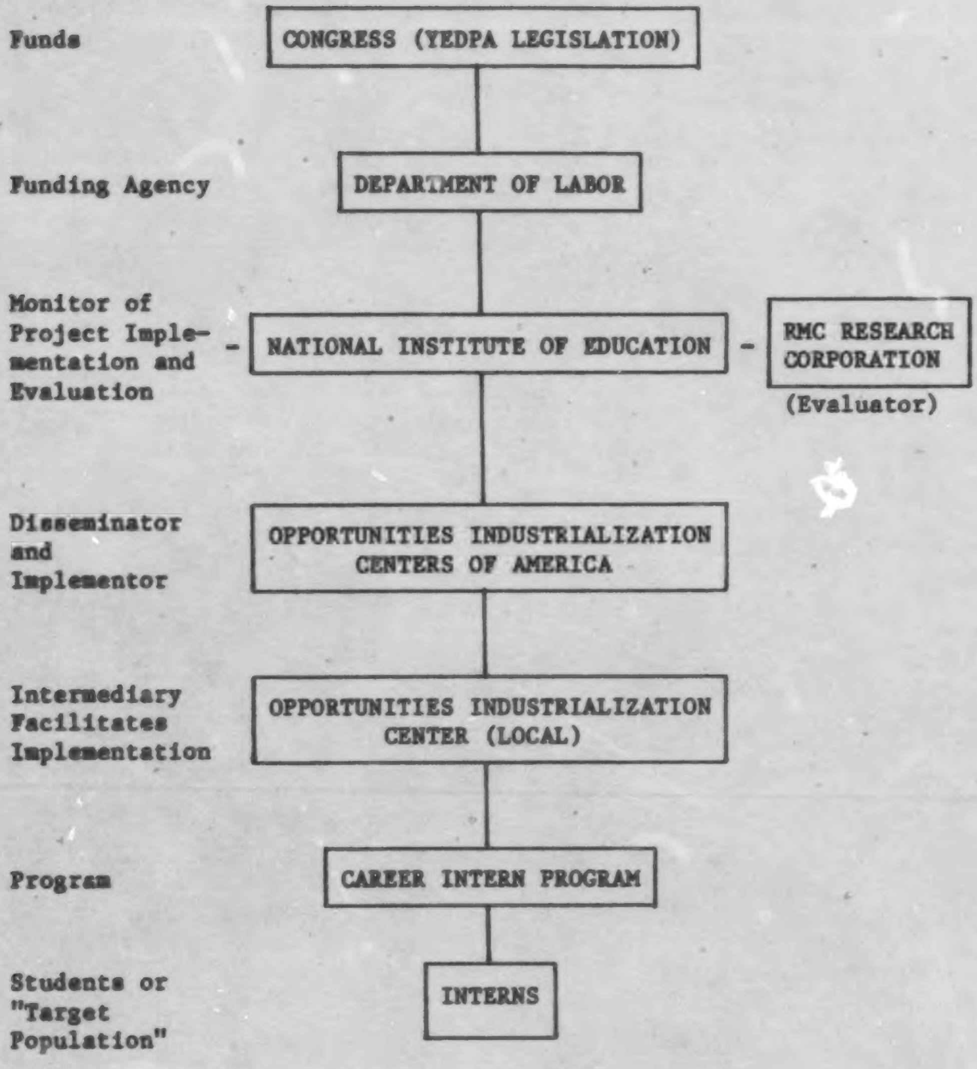

Funds
CONGRESS (YEDPA LEGISLATION)
Funding Agency
DEPARTMENT OF LABOR
Monitor of Project Implementation and Evaluation
NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION
RMC RESEARCH CORPORATION
(Evaluator)
Disseminator and Implementor
OPPORTUNITIES INDUSTRIALIZATION CENTERS OF AMERICA
Intermediary Facilitates Implementation
OPPORTUNITIES INDUSTRIALIZATION CENTER (LOCAL)
Program
CAREER INTERN PROGRAM
Students or "Target Population"
INTERNS

Figure 1. Funding, dissemination, and implementation roles

NIE is also evaluating the performance of all parties concerned, with the exception of the primary funding agency. The evaluation, however, is conducted from a monitor's or project officer's perspective--to make sure contractual obligations are fulfilled. NIE's responsibility for both the implementation and the evaluation is potentially problematic because evaluation information can cross over and affect the implementation procedures. For example, evaluation information may be used to take action concerning the extension or termination of a specific site. In general, data can be a useful contribution to the program, however, in this case alterations of the implementation based on evaluation data during the study have introduced "noise" into the system.

OIC/A conducts an internal evaluation of the sites' progress and of the role of the local OIC in implementing the program. This evaluation is conducted from a monitor's perspective as well as a technical assistance one. The information is gathered to make sure contractual obligations and model specifications are met; however, the information is also potentially usable as corrective feedback. The feedback is used, for example, to design workshops to improve managerial skills or implement disposition conferences. The dual role can be problematic--the sites are unlikely to reveal their ignorance or non-compliance to a monitor even though corrective feedback is both needed and desired by the sites.

Finally, the "acid test" of the program rests upon the evaluation of the program by the interns, the parents, and the local communities. All three demonstrated a reluctance to approach the program in the early stages of operation. Potential interns were unsure what the program was and unsure whether it represented an improvement over other available options. Parents also demonstrated reluctance to involve their children in a new alternative program. In addition, in some communities there was distrust of "another federal program" or demonstration project. Such projects were described by some community members as "getting our hopes up and then pulling out without any explanation," "using us like guinea pigs"--"a real rip off." In general, however, the communities appear to welcome the program as of this writing. (See Figure 2 for a summary of the hierarchical relationship of the formal and informal NIE and OIC/A evaluation roles.)

The Program: Hierarchical Roles and Interaction Networks

Besides the director, the instructional supervisor, career counseling supervisor, and the school liaison are considered part of the administration; they make up middle management. They are responsible to the director and serve as the formal link between the director and the staff. The instructional supervisor leads and supports the instructional staff--and transmits policy decisions from the director to the instructors. The career counseling supervisor serves the same function with counselors and career developers.

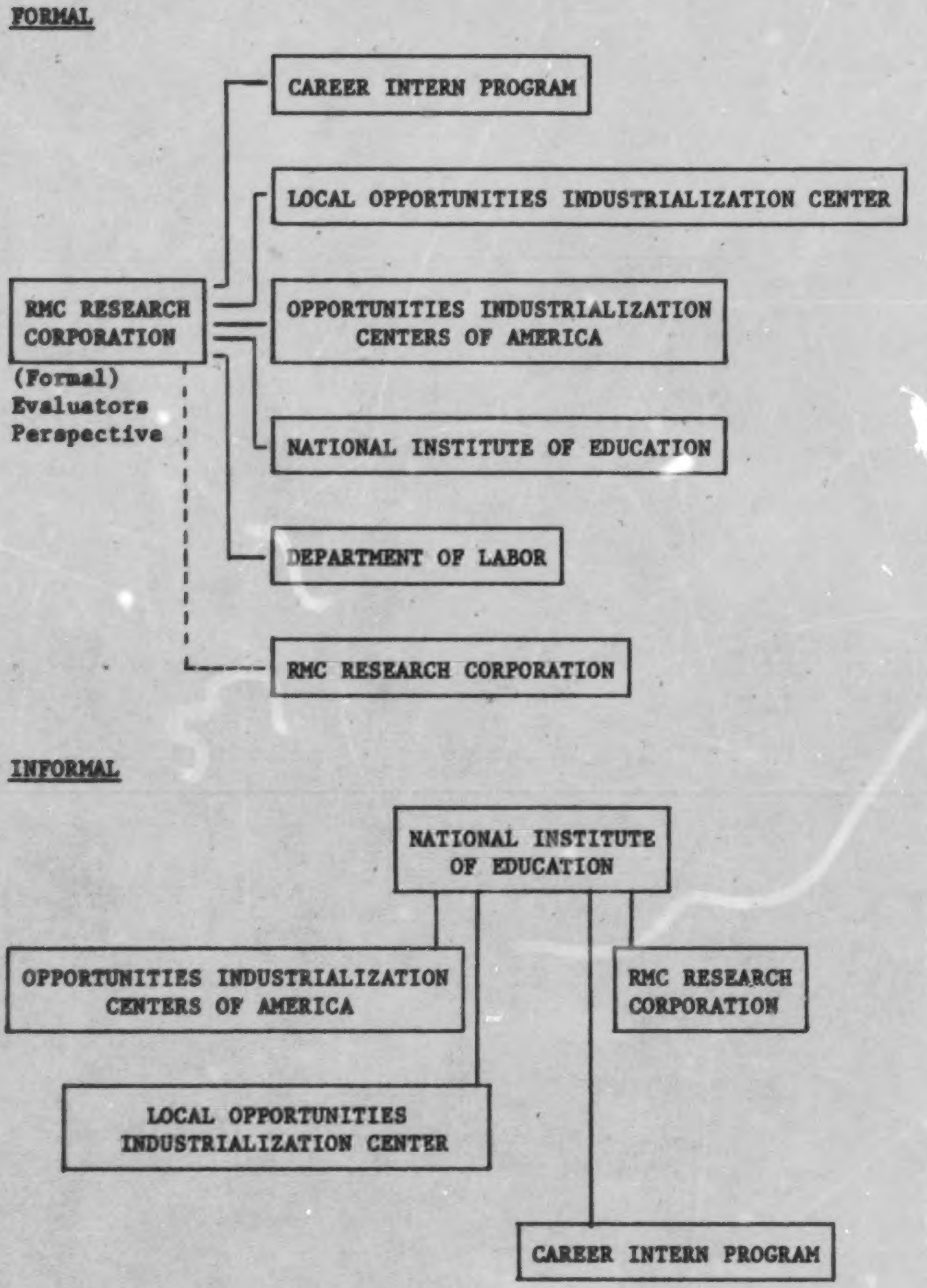
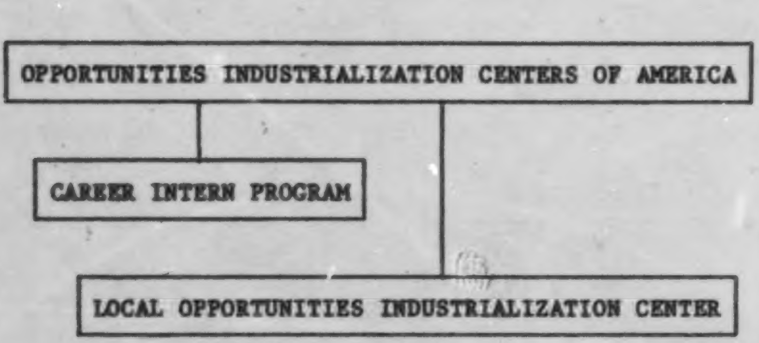

FORMAL
CAREER INTERN PROGRAM
LOCAL OPPORTUNITIES INDUSTRIALIZATION CENTER
RMC RESEARCH CORPORATION
(Formal) Evaluators Perspective
OPPORTUNITIES INDUSTRIALIZATION CENTERS OF AMERICA
NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION
DEPARTMENT OF LABOR
RMC RESEARCH CORPORATION
INFORMAL
NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION
OPPORTUNITIES INDUSTRIALIZATION CENTERS OF AMERICA
RMC RESEARCH CORPORATION
LOCAL OPPORTUNITIES INDUSTRIALIZATION CENTER
CAREER INTERN PROGRAM

Figure 2. Evaluation roles: formal and informal

INFORMAL (Internal OIC/A Evaluation)


OPPORTUNITIES INDUSTRIALIZATION CENTERS OF AMERICA
CAREER INTERN PROGRAM
LOCAL OPPORTUNITIES INDUSTRIALIZATION CENTER

(as facilitators of the CIP implementation)

Figure 2 (continued)

Initial contact between the CIP and the LEAs is made by the OIC. The CIP director solidifies the relationship and then the school coordinator routinely links the CIP and the feeder school. The school coordinator secures lists of dropouts and potential dropouts to recruit* interns into the CIP. In addition, this individual secures transcripts to help plan the interns' individual programs and validates credits for graduation.

Career developers arrange mini-fairs, OJT, and employment opportunities. They are also responsible for establishing contacts with the business community to provide interns with Hands-on experiences. (Hands-on involves two one-week experiences observing a form of employment that parallels the intern's career interests.)

Instructors and counselors are responsible to their respective supervisors for performing their duties in the classroom or in the counseling sessions. There is some overlap in the roles: instructors and counselors teach such courses as the Career Counseling Seminar (CCS) together, instructors listen to intern problems, and counselors advise interns about their academic progress and plans.

The associate professional is used to fill a variety of duties as needed, ranging from handyman to receptionist and "gofer" to substitute teacher. An informal function served by the associate professional is to act as a "lay counselor"--providing an open ear to interns and giving counsel as deemed appropriate. The secretaries and security/janitor also fill the role of "lay counselor." (See Figure 3 for hierarchical structure of program.)

Formal staff-intern interaction is between instructor, counselor, career developer, school coordinator, and intern. Informal staff-intern interaction varies; however, a basic pattern exists ranging from more frequent to less frequent. Informal interactions involve secretaries, security/janitor, instructors, counselors, associate professionals, instructional supervisor, career counseling supervisor, program coordinator, director, and interns.

The degree to which staff and intern personalities "fit" or mesh determines the frequency and quality of their interaction. The staff seeks to be supportive and motivating. This atmosphere necessitates open communications, e.g., instructors and counselors sharing their views of interns' problems, achievements, and overall progress, as well as instructors and counselors constructively interacting with their supervisors or discussing policy issues with the directors. The specific role relationships discussed above are schematically presented in Figure 4 (a through d) under the following headings: management, recruitment, formal staff-intern interaction and informal staff-intern interaction.

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*Recuitment has been conducted by the entire staff and many of the interns (to meet quotas).

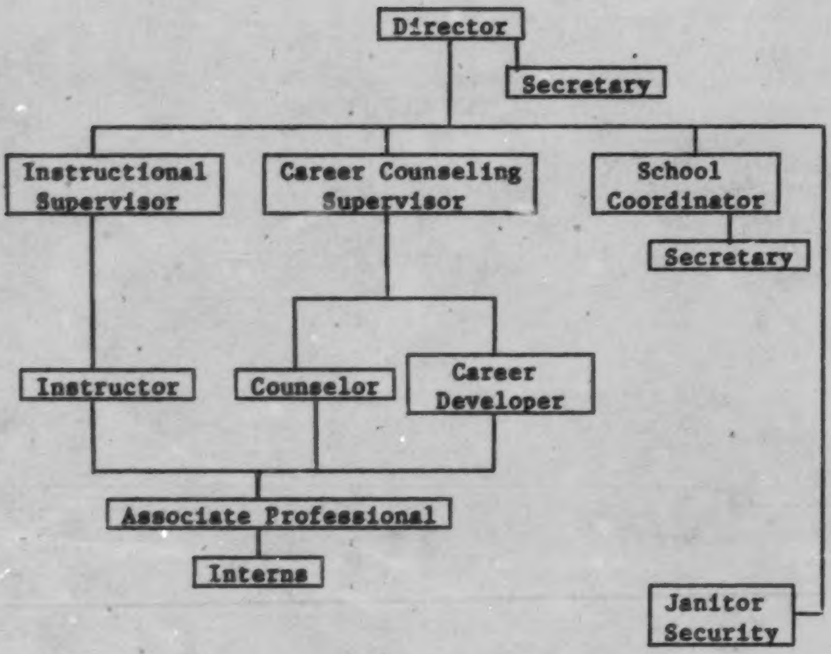
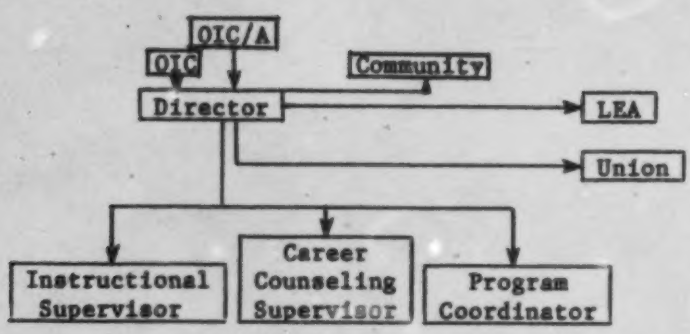
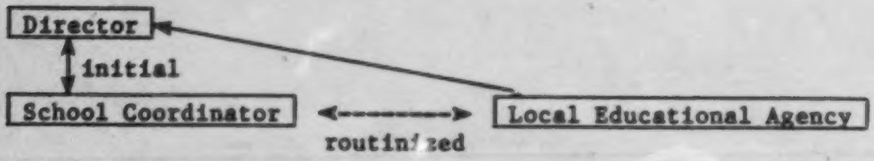

Director
Secretary
Instructional Supervisor
Career Counseling Supervisor
School Coordinator
Secretary
Instructor
Counselor
Career Developer
Associate Professional
Interns
Janitor
Security

Figure 3. Hierarchical structure

(a) Management


OIC/A
OIC
Community
Director
LEA
Union
Instructional Supervisor
Career Counseling Supervisor
Program Coordinator

(b) Recruitment


Director
initial
School Coordinator
routinized
Local Educational Agency

(c) Formal Staff--Intern Interaction

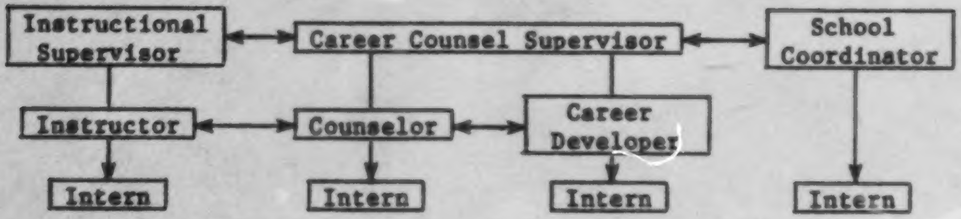

Instructional Supervisor
Career Counsel Supervisor
School Coordinator
Instructor
Counselor
Career Developer
Intern
Intern
Intern
Intern

Figure 4. Program-specific interrelationships

(d) Informal Staff—Intern Interaction (Basic Pattern of Interaction)

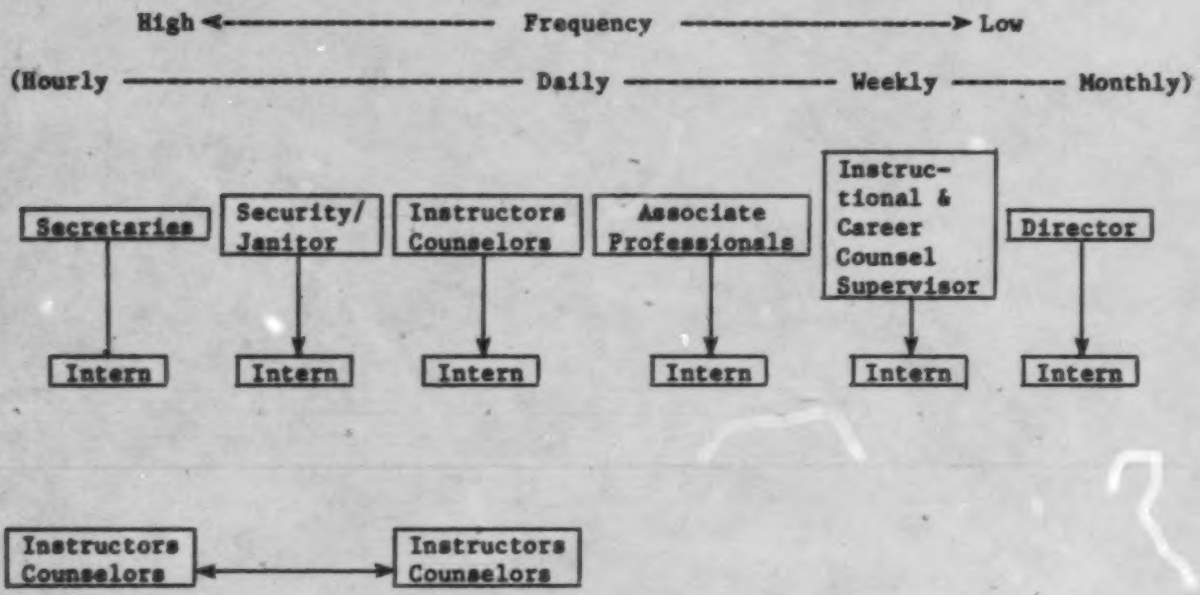

High
Frequency
Low
(Hourly
Daily
Weekly
Monthly)
Secretaries
Security/ Janitor
Instructors Counselors
Associate Professionals
Instructional & Career Counsel Supervisor
Director
Intern
Intern
Intern
Intern
Intern
Intern
Instructors Counselors
Instructors Counselors

Figure 4. (continued)

VI. A DIRECTOR, AN INSTRUCTIONAL SUPERVISOR, A JANITOR, AND A FEW INTERNS

A few brief exchanges with participants of the program add insights into their lives and bring many of these roles, relationships and personalities to life and into perspective. This section begins with a conversation with a CIP director regarding his schedule. A fragment of the scope of activities and demands of his position are conveyed in this conversation--it's a job that "doesn't end."

The second conversation with an instructional supervisor portrays her views of the program. She demonstrates a keen awareness of various program features, e.g., role of intern input, teacher strictness, and caring.

The conversation with a janitor provides insights into the strengths and weaknesses of a developing program. His role as a "guardian" patrolling the halls on his own initiative to get interns back into class is not brought out; however, attitudes that contribute to the daily functions of the program are evidenced.

Finally, a few interns share some of their experiences and background to provide a brief picture of the range of interns in the program. Some of the conversations reveal their reasons for entering the CIP, others serve to offer a picture of the family background. The last interview/conversation is with J. B. He has become a prominent member of one of the CIPs. J. B. is deeply involved in student government. He enthusiastically promotes the CIP and tries to develop the program spirit. His grades are good and his attendance is excellent. J. B. is one of many of the interns that came to the CIP ready for a change in his life. Some interns were leaders within gangs, others were leaders of small social cliques, most however, were simply not satisfied with the direction their lives had already taken. J. B.'s experiences represent the "far end of the continuum" of intern experience; however, a glimpse at his life offers an insight into the full range of individuals the CIP serves.

A Conversation with a CIP Director

What is your schedule like each day?

> I will come here in the morning between about 8:30 to 9:00 o'clock...usually say, check on my schedules and so forth, now, but by 9:00 I receive information pertaining to staff attendance, and...any calls from parents pertaining

to staff attendance, intern attendance, and ...any calls from parents pertaining to who is sick and...what is being done. Then I...go through the building between 10:00-10:30 to see if everyone is in place and check with teachers to see if there is anything they need, and then I see the counselors...and then I come back to the office and take care of desk work. Then by 12:00 I go downstairs to check if the interns are in and check (to see) who is teaching and if there are any problems pertaining to (teaching). Then I come upstairs and take care of desk work, then I leisurely, depending upon the day, meet with the staff, immediately after 3:00. Fridays, every Friday. Every Monday is instruction, every Wednesday is with...some counselors and at least by 10:00 in the morning and every Friday at 10:00 we supervise the two supervisors and we sit down and go over the agenda for our meetings at 8:00.

Oh, I see. What types of things do you do regarding the desk work? Budgets and things like that?

OK. Budgets, reports, checking on schedules, cross lists,...(Also on an) ongoing basis the files of interns (are reviewed) which I then give to the counselors to review.... I average about oh, six a day. Depending on whether its a career development file or whether its a confidential file, or ongoing file. Then, of course, meetings. Propositions. Check on our intern increase. Check on our utility bills. Develop memos...either (to) Central or to staff, consulting with parents who have been invited or who come in for various reasons, or who are passing through for information pertaining to the program. Of course, representing the organization of CIP to various committees, organizations.

What types of things have you gone to (to represent the CIP)?

Oh...the _th and __th (district) has a committee relations commission, and I serve on their board. The _____ Center, which I serve on the youth board. ...the Salvation Army. It's an ongoing sort of thing, but there is also the _____ Parent Association which I also work with. ...then comes dinner before business. Cases which have been referred by the counselors to the counselors and who in turn feel that there should be some sort of policy, resolution, or talk to their interns.

I talked to _____ (an intern), yesterday. He invited me over to his house and we talked a little. (He told me about the problems with the gangs that you were discussing yesterday.)

> We have also intervened. Some of my work is to intervene with various gangs around here. _____ percenters, you've surely seen on our street, constantly smoke pot. They look at who belongs to which kind of gang and who's on who's turf and so we have been able to get hold of at least three different gangs around this area and talking to them about facts that we have to consider.... We are not here to look for trouble they (interns) are here for school....

Who contacted them, the members, or were they just hanging around here?

> Yeah, they hang around here....
>
> For instance, we had a situation where one of the interns here accosted one of the _____ percenters....
>
> Oh yes. They call themselves the _____ percenters. And they were ready to beat him up (in retaliation). They hung around here for awhile. For about two weeks. We were helping this guy go through all kinds of places....
>
> Passing through the church door, to the other side of the street. Until we were able to mediate. ...we also have a _____ Lords. They also complain that some of our kids go across that street.

So the kids...

> Yeah, they go across that street. They go across that street, they don't know that, so they want to know who they are.

I see.

> We sat down, we recognized them, we talked with them. We also have the Mighty _____.

Mighty _____?

> Yes, Mighty _____, we have street guards, the street guards have to bring these kids to the corner and they have to cross quickly in order to come to this side. The Mighty _____ live on _____ and _____ (its) their territory and in order for anybody to come here on the _____ bus, they get off on _____ and _____, they have to cross _____ (their turf).

So that's crossing the turf, yes?

> Yes, that's crossing the turf.

Do they come in here, or just talk through the people that keep them contacted?

> Oh they come in...They come in and they want to talk to the boss.

So, you've had them in?

> Oh, yes. Give them coffee and ask them if they want to smoke. I usually keep a pack of cigarettes in case anyone of them smokes. I don't smoke. Then they say they are here to talk and then we talk.

And things have settled pretty easy?

> Oh yes, as long as, as long as, those people don't give them any flack. They are asked where they are coming from whether they are coming from here and each one of them has an ID card we don't have new ones for the new kids, but if it comes to the real thing they want to know their ID, show something. So you see, the thing is the gangs around here have alliances and somebody may call them lookouts. They (are) sent by a gang first as a lookout. And he's an innocent person. So these people not only watch, but watch very closely. Not only that, the gangs have various hostiles. All over the place. Got these hostiles, so if you are actually innocent and walk in by one of the hostiles the whole feeling is that you are there to observe what they are doing, to steal, to study the layout. So they watch these things.

That's interesting. (What other types of activities do you encounter)?

Then of course, going to various, ...meetings constantly with _____ and _____ High which is on the other side. But it's a whole full day. Not only that, going to various director meetings and management meetings at -- (the local OIC), participating in various conferences and symposia on behalf of OIC/A _____; developing Inservice Training with my staff here....

What kind of conferences at OIC?

Well, there are several conferences, one which also pertains to the generation, the lost generation, and the whole idea of OIC, ...has alliances and relationships with all kinds of groups and they provide leadership, support. So their leadership, support depending upon which response it has to deal with anything pertaining to youth. I have to represent the OIC. If it has something to do with conferences of management. It is part of my plan.

Oh, that's excellent. Then you're very involved in the training program as well?

Oh yes.

Then how does your day end?

It doesn't end.

It doesn't end, I guess that's the ultimate.

It doesn't end. Then at the end of the day whatever should be done during the day we take with us, then I do it. My day actually starts from 8:30 and ends around 7:30. It's an average 12 hours that I work a day.

Mrs. _____ (my wife) is always complaining about that. This morning she was saying I left here at 10:00 o'clock last night.... I was taking my shower and I remembered that I had used (the wrong figure).... It was a little number, and how I used it I don't know. So I remembered and I came back and changed the whole thing.

That's amazing. Yeah, I've seen you here late.

Yeah. The thing that takes a lot of my time really, are unscheduled conferences. They come in here constantly with all kinds of conflicts. They are based on complaints of instructors or counselors, or a certain meeting can't be fulfilled, then we arrange or people just pop in and look around and that takes time.

Yeah, you have to show them around, that's true.

Takes time, and by the time you show them around, they sit down and talk.

That's right. What types of things, by the way, do the interns come in and complain about?

Uh, some have complained about the distance that they have to come. Some have complained about the fact that they belong to a gang, and they need someone to talk to somebody. They have come in to talk about their relationships with their parents because their parents toss them out because they are 18. As...an emancipated man, so he can (get a social welfare stipend and food stamps) take some and give them away. Sort of reducing the population in the house and also bringing in some sort of income. So, parents, a lot of parents, somehow force their kids to do that and they (the interns) don't really know what (their parents are doing), so when this thing comes up they (the interns) come in asking (why their) parents are throwing them out.... (Their parents) say they should work and they don't want to go. Then we have to sit down and talk about it, and they come to stay at my house.... Some come in with questions pertaining to their difference. Some are parents, they come in to discuss health problems, or simply problems with babysitting or problems with child care.

Yeah, I've noticed a number of women here have kids.

We have also instances where parents will come in and discuss a certain complaint about coming home early, about hanging out with the wrong group. And ask us to talk to them.

That's an interesting twist.

Yes. We have other situations where probation officers are dealing with us from the local precinct pertaining to certain information. They consulted us about their attendance, where they hang out, and things like that. We also tell these interns, their probation officers tell them they must keep in touch with us, so we talk to them occassionally and want to know what is happening and so forth. If they are meeting their probation officer...(they) Let me know when they have to see "The Man."

I see, I see, that's interesting, that's what we were discussing yesterday.

We have people who are here who are in serious crime. I mean real serious crime. In the book, we have it here, minutes from the book.

That much of a range?

A whole range. Uh, we have people who are active in a committee. And who are caught seen in and out to see what is going on, but in fact he is monitoring us. Yesterday they heard about this disco, and they actually popped in to see what effect does disco as if something is going on that is not supervised. (This committee thinks the) Kids are smoking pot, and all that.

I was wondering about that, I noticed that it was too coincidental that it happened to be right around the disco.

It's a whole full day's workout.

Hm. Well, then you have to close up the building?

Yes.

(I begin to pick up my note pad and tape recorder.)

All right.

That's good. I appreciate it.

OK.

Very nice, I'll let you get back to work now.

Yes.

Thanks.

A Conversation with an Instructional Supervisor

(This conversation begins as my last conversation with an intern ends. I commented "She's really trying."

> ...Yes, they're trying so hard to become adults, they're searching for their identity, and jobs seem to be the reason or it is the reason that really identifies them as being adults.

Uh-huh.

> ...and to rely on parents a lot of times, to them, they don't want us to call the parents in but yet when we do we get more response from them as far as intern participation.

Is it really that they don't want you to...because they want to feel more independent or...

> Yes, they want to feel more independent. They want to do things on their own but yet we have to check back with them and they're really trying to get out from under their parents' thumb.

I see.

> So they can make more of their own money. And there are programs at CIP that offer money.... And summer jobs, even though at minimum wages. Better than not having any money.
>
> (Many interns choose work over school, but...)
>
> ...The interns who are here feel very close to the program. They have given their inputs. Another thing...the biggest thing about this program...we have changed policies as a result of intern feedback.
>
> ...For instance, the attendance policy (during the day). They suggested, one intern particularly suggested a sign-in sheet which we have when we come, when we go, then every intern will not be punished. Then we call the parents and let them know who did not return, things like that. Now that was their idea.

(In addition) interns are having problems with studying and a couple of them said they need more help in knowing how to study, they didn't even know how. And so this semester we're instituting a study plan.

That sounds great.

So, that's as a direct result of intern feedback. ...we don't have any sports here but through ____ (the director) and requested by the interns we have more physical/ kinds of activity...we have arranged with _____ (the local university) to take the kids during the summer school year's swim and gym program.

They will receive academic credit for health education, they'll get to take swimming, you know...two other sports, possibly tennis or baseball...and along with swimming. So it's going to be nice.

Very good.

Interns have (also) indicated they want a deeper math program...so the science instructor has agreed to teach algebra this year and so... that's a lot of work. So that's in the program ...but we do need suggestions. We've adopted a philosophy for CIP and part of our philosophy states that interns should have a part in planning...not just for this whole program but in each classroom, they are allowed to make new suggestions and...they are considered and we do use them.

What do you think of some of the interns that think (some of the instructors) are somewhat strict?

Well, instructors are strict, but I know two in particular, but when I check on the attendance at the end of the month the strictest one has 79% attendance. In fact, some of his classes got to be 89%, you know.

Really?

Yeah. And _____(an instructor), the strictest teacher has the most attendance. They complain but they go to their class. And to me, aside from what they think, I go by what I see on the paper. So you know, if the instructor was too strict and they did not attend his class then I would check to see what is he doing that's wrong to cause them to stay out of class.

The most lax teacher, the nicest teacher, is the one who had the least amount of people who attended his class. And so we're working with them to get them to...we have rules and regulations, we have standards. ...And then there's a happy mix. One of our English instructors...she is one of our newer instructors that we have and she's been with us but as far as being in the field of teaching she has been able to maintain a high degree of attendance in her class. She is not viewed by the interns as being...see how can I put it...too strict. But she is exact and she has limits for her classes and they know from the beginning what they are out to do and she is able to maintain a high attendance. And so we're using the ideas, you know, we have weekly meetings and I read the attendance report and I tell them who has the most attendance and what methods that person is using to keep the attendance high and we talk it over and some of them have started being more strict forcing rules and so forth. And if we could do that all programs, you know, just tighten up everything ...I say our program is too lax....

You know...I read (in the first evaluation report) about their dress code and a lot of things...and school is strict but I think strictness is viewed as caring. If you let people do anything they want to do they really think you don't care.

I feel...this semester we're going to initiate peer evaluation. One of our instructors has been permitted to do that. I feel it will be more beneficial for the instructors to evaluate themselves, you know, in a way than have me do it because they look upon (it as if it were punishment, a) bad evaluation at the end, or something like that. So if they coordinate, they could take ideas from one another and try to implement them in their...and so they are doing that. And I think it is going to have favorable results.

Excellent.

They get a chance to share ideas and critique one another.

What about planning for...

...we have worked on planning for the summer and, as I said, swimming and gym program. We're going to take more field trips. Then we'll be trying to take one field trip a month. But I'm going to try to get more. We want to go to the nature center, thirty mile and _____. It's not in _____ but it's the outside kind of a trip where they could learn a lot....We're going to have CIP-is-HIP day next week. Now that has been the single overriding innovation of interns, they seem to like that activity better than any other.

Really?

CIP-is-HIP. ...We give recognition to interns who are just about any category. And they really like that and the last one, the last one that we had, the second cohort came in, and the attendance was better than the first cohort. You know, they came in while we're having CIP-is-HIP day and that spread the publicity about the program...and the enthusiasm that things were going on...So we're going to have more next month and we must instead of letting so many go by. But they really liked that a lot. We have a basketball game before, and we do want to have more things like that than generate atmosphere that don't support the program.

Though there was something wrong at the last ball game at the end.

Oh yes, at the end (they had a fight), but the two students now...who had problems...ate at lunch together. There, they seem to be friends. _____ and _____.

Really.

Oh, they have been enemies since they first met.

I didn't know they were enemies.

Oh yes. They are now talking to one another and exchanging ideas. That's gratifying to see that they can be, you know, mature.

Yeah, that's good to see. Do you still remember _____?

> Yes. A big difference. And another of our interns, the young lady that was here a few minutes ago, she has...received a lot of A's, you know, and she made the Director's list. The first time she arrived she had this scowl on her face, wouldn't speak to anybody, sat by herself in the classroom...

That's true _____, you mean...that's right, I remember...

> Well, she wouldn't speak to anyone, and...a couple of interns were playing scrabble and she was sitting by herself and I walked up to them and asked them "Why don't you ask _____ to join in?" They said "Oh, she's too mean." I said "Well, look, she won't be that way if she has somebody to talk to. Just invite her to come to the game, and even if she doesn't at least you could try." And so they did, and she joined in, and she's been friendlier, you know. She's really trying in her classes and she's getting positive feedback... And interns supporting one another had been of great deal to her...

From her peers...from the other interns.

> Yes, other interns.

And you notice sometimes, in the case of _____ and some others.... They're going to be the protectors.

> Yeah. That's really good. They inspire a lot of interns...they need encouragement..."She got all A's" I said. (We all tell her) You're smart, you can do this, you know."

> And...so she really likes the program now she's gotten all A's and she really worked in the class...

I know, I know.

> You know, she's allowed to, you know, have her personal freedom in that...we don't try to stifle. They're aggressive to a point and then they become complacent, you know, we want them to show some vim and vigor and express their opinions, you know, and we can change

> things. But a lot of times they have better ideas than we do, and we don't want to mirror them all the time, you know, we try to humor them and they think that we're doing it. So I think that (listening to interns) has helped the program.

A Conversation with a Janitor

This janitor is deeply committed to the CIP. He monitors the halls periodically on his own initiative to get interns back into class. A conversation with him provides a number of insights into the program--its strengths and its weaknesses.

> They love to come to certain classes because they feel they're getting something out of it. A guy like that the teachers have to put more into it. I really stress instructors, they are the important ones.
>
> It would be good if it was tightened up overall. I mean like the rules, like getting here on time.
>
> They're supposed to be here at 8:45 and they come at 9 or 9:30 and no one cares. But I think the overall program has been a success. I find it very beneficial to the young people of _____. There are still a lot of people who don't know that this program exists. Then when you have people walking around saying she ain't teaching this and she ain't teaching that, this program ain't this and that then this is a defeatist attitude.

I can definitely see where that could be a problem.

> But, I look at it overall. It's gonna be a successful program. We constantly have visitors which gives the interns a chance to see who sponsors this program. I think its good for them to see how its improving. We're affiliated with the _____ Board of Educators. The regular high schools have one thousand students, we have one hundred but we're running well.

What do you think the rate of attendance is?

> On the average about 50-60 students on a weekly basis. Except the beginning of the week, Monday, and the end of the week, Friday, attendance is pretty good.

Conversations with a Few Interns

The following vignettes are excerpts of longer interviews with interns. The first conversation is with Madeleine (pseudonym). She is one of the more active interns coordinating bake sales and organizing the graduation and financial committee. Madeleine also is quick to defend the CIP from the verbal abuse of new interns. This conversation primarily provides a view of her family background.

Madeleine

How many are in your family?

> I have seven sisters and no brothers and I live with my mother and father and so my sister got married and they live with us sometime.

Do you all get along alright?

> We get along real well. We don't have any choice.

And what about your parents, how do they feel about their jobs?

> My father likes his job, my father works very hard. He's a very good father. He works two jobs now, he was working three. My sister was working.

What were the different kinds of jobs?

> He was sergeant on a Security job, and he used to work at _____ but they moved so he started working, they transferred him to _____ but recently he got hurt out there so they transferred him to _____ so he work at _____ now. My mother doesn't work anymore. She used to work at _____ Schools. She decided not to work. I don't work anymore because I got laid off my job. I quit because I couldn't work and go to school at the same time. So I made the choice to quit and go to school. My sister the fourth one works. She worked as an actress. But she quit. She used to be a beautician but she quit because she decided she wanted to be a model.

Oh, I see.

> My sister, _____, I don't know what she wants to do. She dreams about singing. But they go to school.

How are they in school?

> They do fine. I'm the only one who doesn't do anything.

Not yet anyway.

> But when I get ready, I will.

That's right. Give it time. Any big problems?

> In the family? No, everything's fine. My mother and father go to church every Sunday.

(A second intern looks interested in the interview, so I ask her...) What church do they (the first intern's family) go to? Do you know?

> (Second intern:) Yeah, I go to the same church.

What one do you go to?

> (Second intern:) _____, other side of the Bay. My father is the deacon of the church, my mother is a Sunday School teacher, and I'm secretary of the church.
>
> I like going to church, and I try to encourage this girl (another intern) over here to go to church. But she doesn't like to go to church, so what can I say.

(I come back to Madeleine). So how are things going in general?

> (Madeleine:) I think everything is OK. Even though I don't have everything I want to have because I'm not working, because ain't nobody really working in my family but my father and he can't do everything.

(Interns comment on her (Madeleine's) fast speech--giggling). She's talking fast but I'm getting it.

> When I was in Jr. High, my mother made me go to a speech therapist for talking fast.

I used to talk very fast myself, so I understand it.

> It wasn't that I couldn't pronounce my words properly, it was just that I would say them so fast people wouldn't understand me.

Did you get in some arguments about that?

> Yeah, she said I be trying to outtalk her, but I wasn't. But our family get along very well.

Cheryl

Cheryl was considered aloof by other interns when she first entered the program. She would not associate with anyone. Over a period of time she has made a number of friends, and interacts with many interns on a casual basis now. Interns comment on her "change in attitude." This excerpt touches on her family life and her sentiments about attending school.

How many kids in the family?

> It's five of us. I have three brothers and one sister.

And your parents?

> Both of them, all of us live in the same house and my uncle stay there with us. My father works.

What does he do?

> He's a foreman at _____ (local factory). My mother doesn't work.

How do you get along with your brothers and sisters?

> We get along pretty good, except sometime we have arguments.

Anything major? What are the major things that come up.

> Well the dishes. Washing the dishes, they don't want to wash them.

Do you get in any trouble or anything like that?

No. School, yeah, but police and all that major stuff, no.

What school did you get in trouble in?

_____ school. Skipping class.

How did your parents feel about it?

They couldn't understand why.

What did you tell them?

I didn't want to go.

Were they upset? What did they do?

Sometime they wouldn't speak to me.

Mary

Mary has a good sense of humor and is an extremely dedicated intern. She is good friends with Madelyn. They both set up bake sales and take an active role in the financial committee and various other programs. She is also a very mature and sophisticated young adult. Once again the conversation begins with a semi-structured interview regarding her family background and then proceeds into a discussion regarding her sentiments concerning school attendance.

I come from a very large family. One brother and no sisters. My brother is 22 and I'm 20.

When is your birthday?

The 29th of April.

Parents?

My father is retired. I really don't know what he does. He lives somewhere on the West side. My parents are divorced. My mother designs plans for houses. She still trying to figure me out.

Do you see your father very much?

I saw him in 19??. Last I saw him I was seven. Then I saw him about four weeks ago.

Do you get along with him?

No, not at all.

You fight?

We just don't speak.

Are you two different?

I'm more like him. That's why we don't get along.

So it doesn't bother you too much that they were divorced.

No, not at all. I'd rather see them apart than destroying each other. Because I was there when they were fighting.

(Another intern interrupted and commented on her problems with her old high school and Mary responded "yeah me too trouble.")

What kind of trouble? School trouble?

I don't have too much school trouble. I didn't get kicked out that much. I just didn't go to class. I knew the right places to hang out so I never got caught. Till one day the truant officers come to my house and blew everything. They had the nerve to come to my house. They came to my house last September. Last year, I couldn't believe that. My mother should have been gone, she was late for work. My mother came upstairs snatched the cover off my bed, What's Your Problem!!?? Mary, how come you not in school? I was half sleep. I was working then so I really didn't care about going to school. I'm getting ready to graduate from CIP. I plan to go back to school in September _____ (a local community college), matter of fact. I'm going to try to get in _____ (a local state university).

What are your plans?

To be a lawyer.

That's good. Everything going OK now?

Everything's fine.

Shirley

Shirley's family life has been difficult for her. Although she was brought up by a guardian and never really lived with her parents the loss of her parents at a very early age still has had a tremendous effect on her. She also had the same problem with school as most of the interns reported, "I was bored."

How many in your family?

> I have one brother, one sister. My father is deceased. My mother is deceased. I stay with my Aunt.

Do you get along with your aunt?

> Yes. Sometime. I have to put her in her place every once and a while. Naw, I'm just talking. If she heard me say that. The only problem is we can't communicate. Whenever I have a problem I have to go to somebody I know I can trust to talk to. My brother--

Older or younger?

> My brother is 13 and my sister is 10. I wish he was old enough to talk to. He's cool. He goes to _____ (local school). Oh God, he is a hopeless case. He got kicked out about 20 times, for fighting.

How long ago did your mother die?

> My mother died in '70 and my father died in '78.

You've gone through a lot of changes then? Pretty rough emotionally? How did it affect your brother and sister.

> They were young, they didn't understand.

Did they have an illness or something?

> Yeah, they had an illness, both of them were on drugs.

Did they O.D.?

> Well, my mother didn't, somebody gave her an overdose, and my father I don't know what happened, he didn't O.D. he was just in the hospital a lot.

That must have been really tough. How long did it take to get over that?

> It took me a while.

Now are you sort of watching out for your brother and sister?

> Yeah.

I know it must be hard because you are not around them a lot and they are affected by their friends.

> Legally my aunt is my mother because she had me since I was three days old.

But did you spend time with your parents?

> No, I have never spent time with my parents.

You were always brought up by your aunt and partially by your father?

> No, I saw him every blue moon.

What about school?

> Oh, I stayed in trouble. I got kicked out a lot that's all. I never went to class. I was bored.

Laura

Laura is a shy intern, until you engage her in conversation. She briefly discussed some of the typical family problems interns report, e.g., a brother or sister is still immature and obnoxious. Laura's mother's concern for her daughter's attendance problem is characteristic of many interns' parents.

And how many in your family?

> One sister and one brother.

And, how do you get along together?

> I get along with my brother, real good, but my sister she got a mouth and I just want to bust her in it so bad.

How old is your sister?

> She is twelve and she is grown and hot. Her and my mother be talking and she be giving ya a look 'you ain't gonna tell me what to do.' I'm gonna come in when I want to. My mother leave, I just be boxing her ears. She had the nerve to tell my mother when she get fourteen she gonna have a baby.

How do you get along with your brother?

> That's my heart. I'll do 20 years for my brother.

How old is he?

> Seven.

That's nice.

> Me and my sister we get along, it's just certain times she start running off at the mouth. It drives you crazy. She like to play.... She ain't trying to mature yet.

She's still a kid?

> Yeah.

What about your parents?

> My mother is a pharmacist technician. She work at the local General Hospital and my father is a maintenance man. He had a chance to be a foreman but he just liked to work at welding.

How do you get along with your parents?

> I get along with my father real good, but my mother we argue a lot. My father, well my mother get along real good but she always talking about girls are lazy and don't like to do nothing. We just have to have an argument every day of the week or the week ain't gonna be right. I think I get along with my family real good. Like when I messed up in school my father dropped out of school, but I think he does real good for having dropped in the 9th grade. But my mother didn't understand because her mother died when she was two and she never knew her father. She always went to school, never too many absences and then when she saw my

> attendance records she almost fainted. But you know she didn't do anything, we talked and for about 2 or 3 weeks she always said oh you ain't nothing but a dropout.

Bob, another intern sitting with us, looked eager to add something to the conversation so I asked Bob: You experience the same thing?

> All my mother asking for is a diploma. I think I can do that much for her. She put herself aside to do something for me, so the least I can do is get a diploma.

J.B.

J. B.'s background, as mentioned earlier, is somewhat atypical of interns at the site. He is also somewhat atypical in his interaction with other interns at the site--he is a prominent leader. His dominant role at the site justifies examining his background and his motivations for entering the program.

> I was a baaaad ass. Excuse the expression, but I was. Rippin and runnin around. The only time I would come home was to eat and wash up. You know hello and good-bye. I was gone. I dealt with a lot of women which drove me to drink. I used to drink so much, man I was in and out of the bottle. It was rough because you had to rap to all these women, you couldn't run the same line. Wine makes you want to talk so I drank to talk. It seemed like nobody cared. All they said to me was leave and get out. I traveled a lot. I used to steal, I put businesses out of business. That's how dangerous I was. I did it alone at the age of 14 acting crazy and wild. But then as years passed it started catching up with me. Police started watching me. I got caught rippin off this place and that's when it really hit the fan--cops started noticin' me cause my name...My name is J. B. and they knew my name. And with a name like that they didn't forget it.

Why do they call you that?

> Well, I got it from my father. They called him that. The police were always annoying me. The cops would say 'Hey, _____ and I'd

throw up that middle finger just like that and it was a constant everyday thing...."_____, we gonna get your nigger ass." This is what they were tellin me--cops, now and you know I'd throw up that middle finger...I'd do it to annoy them cause they were annoying me you know cause I'm thinkin' about robbin' somebody and they on my butt constantly. Well I made a few stings and kept on going to reform school and this and that till I met some dudes and we decided to make a big, big sting...and we got popped. I got arrested I went back and forth to the courts back and forth. Before that I got arrested for an assault on an officer and I still say I ain't guilty. Couldn't prove it cause I couldn't pay enough money for the serious lawyer you know what I mean...I stayed in jail goin' back and forth to court for about four months...I got four years probation and I was supposed to be cut loose but the day before I got the four years probation (I got into another problem inside the prison).

When you're indicted they got a 120 days exactly to either give you your trial or they gotta drop your case and we were askin' for a speedy trial and they were delayin' it. They were delayin' it. This is --. This is like bein down south to me. I'm tellin' you. You won't believe it. You won't believe it. It's just like bein' down south. They get you in their court, they say they're tryin' to help you but they're not. The probation officer I had is now the D.A. Now what kind of stuff is that? I couldn't believe it and they sittin' there saying "Well, I'm trying to help you..." In going back and forth to court. My other case of assault of the cop that I did not do either is in court and I get a year on that and all the time I did didn't count. Did not count. Did not count. They ripped me off.

Was that around here?

Yeah, at _____. That's a terrible place because there's nothing to do, so all you do is waste. After the first six months I got to be in recreation yard. They isolated me from everybody (for this thing they said I did) and I didn't even do nothing, I was innocent. I used to wake up to nigger every morning for two weeks. It was a real trip and all the time my mind was going what the hell is going on?...

When you get marijuana is it a guard sneaking it in or is there a guy around with it?

> It's respect man, I was there a whole year and I knew that they didn't care but you had to respect them. As long as you put it away when you heard them coming well with some of the guards it was cool. The last few minutes before I got out was the worst of the whole time. Seemed like the clock stopped.
>
> I dealt with it though man. I saw a lot of people come and go. Crazy people. I actually saw a man throw a bucket of shit in another man's face.

Were there many gay guys?

> There were a lot of fags, but you never heard of anybody gang-banging up there. There were a couple of fags I used to get to give me back rubs. I really missed my back rubs in there. But if they would go too far I'd say look, I don't play that shit. Some of the faggots braided hair. You know faggots have deep voices man, you wouldn't believe it.

Well, after you got out of all that what did you do then?

> They isolated us in the most dangerous part of the place. The roaches had taken over. The roaches were bold, even in the daytime. They'd run right over your foot and keep going. They bite! I got bit on the arm, neck, and leg. They were just like a calvary. The security there at the jail was terrible. I learned a lot.

Did it change you?

> Yes, man. It made me take a look at myself. I paid (my dues) man, am I really like this? It was so aggravating. I hit a man one day and he fell and almost hit his head on metal. I said to myself I could have killed this man.

When you finally got out of jail then what happened? Was it a long time before you came to CIP?

> Yeah.

What did you do between time?

> I was so used to being away from a crowd, I just stayed home. She took me to a mall one day and all these people moving, I just wigged out. I wanted to go back to _____ High, but that was just to play ball. But I messed up my leg and had surgery. Then I got a job as a -- dishwasher.

That's alright, it was a job.

> Yeah, I worked there for a while, then I heard of CIP. So I talked to my father and he had been wanting me to go to school. But I came to CIP and I liked it. I know now what I want to do.

What is that?

> Be a hair stylist. There's a lot of money in it. You know being a stylist. I'm gonna really try.

That's fantastic. You really made a turnabout didn't you.

> Yes, this is really gonna happen. I've gone through a lot, as far as stealing, I've paid my dues and I'm still paying and I don't want to pay no more. I paid a whole year of my life and I don't want to waste any more time. I'm really looking in the right direction.

VII. PROGRAM COMPONENTS

A complex organization is composed of subsystems. Three subsystems are critical to CIP: the core, the support, and the ideological subsystems. These subsystems have been abstracted from observations of program operations supplemented with examination of evaluation materials and written records related to the "prototypical progam" in Philadelphia. In addition, interviews were conducted with former staff members of the original CIP.

The core subsystem includes the combined and integrated patterns of activity that are directly designed to assist in transmitting knowledge, skills, behavior patterns, and cultural values to the interns. This system consists of five CIP components: instruction, counseling, Hands-On, Intern Formalized Assessment, and program climate.

The support subsystem represents the infrastructure of the program. It is designed to enable the core components of the program to operate. The CIP support subsystem includes program rules and regulations, personnel qualifications, personnel roles, curriculum, recruitment, facilities, funds, and materials and supplies. It also encompasses relations with the LEA, the teachers' association, the community and the local OIC, and involvement of OIC/A.

The ideological subsystem includes the shared explicit and implicit knowledge, opinions, values, plans and goals and the patterned expression of thoughts that describe, explain, and justify the social structure and organization. CIP ideology is largely a product of the parent organization's (OIC/A's) ideology. The fundamental elements include: caring about interns, providing a supportive context for them, providing a realistic perspective in which they operate, "dealing with the whole intern," maintaining high personal and academic expectations of interns, and treating interns as (young) adults and individuals.

The Core Program Components

Instruction

CIP provides a learning experience different from that of the traditional high school. The basic elements are individualization, use of innovative methods and materials, small class size (approximately fifteen interns per class, and infusion of the academic curriculum with a career orientation.

Interns work at their own pace with a variety of learning activities and individual attention from instructors. Learning packets are a central feature of the individualized curriculum. These packets are sequentially designed materials provided for each intern, such as math problems or stories accompanied by self-testing questions and corresponding answers. The packets cover English, social studies, math, science, and career awareness and planning. The learning packet format allows interns to work individually, at their own pace, and at an appropriate level of instruction. The original packets were those of the developer site and were provided by OIC/A. These packets are being used as is or have been modified to provide a better match to interns' needs and curriculum requirements.

Instruction is eclectic. Most instructors employ a variety of methods including academic problem solving, role playing, career day seminars, and field trips. Traditional lecturing and whole class activities (all interns occupied with the same assignment) are present on a limited scale. Individual and small group activities are the dominant instructional strategies.

A minimum of nine field trips are planned during Phases I and II (career exploration) of the program. Three trips are related to academic course content, three to career awareness and planning, and three to activities intended to broaden interns' cultural and experiential horizons. The field trips are provided to enhance the formal academic and career exploration segments of the program.

Fused instruction is a guiding principle. "Fusing" involves relating careers and the "world of work" to the academic content of the courses. This makes instruction more relevant to interns--linking their immediate experience to future employment options. English, science, social studies, math, and electives (e.g., typing and art) all are fused with career oriented materials, activities, and perspectives.

Finally, the Career Counseling Seminars (CCS) represent the basic vehicle in developing and maintaining a career orientation. The CCS is planned jointly by counselors, instructors, and career developers, any or all of whom may actually teach classes. Interns attend CCS each day throughout their first term in the CIP. CCS focuses on building interns' self-awareness, an awareness of career possibilities, and an understanding of the specific career requirements. The class also assists interns in coping with diverse social situations, providing instruction in getting along with others, personal hygiene, punctuality, and so on. World-of-work behaviors are taught in CCS, including how to dress and how to communicate in job-related situations. Interns prepare two career reports based on independent research in two career fields. These reports are intended to familiarize them with the educational and/or training requirements of career fields in which they are interested, as well as providing a general knowledge and understanding of careers.

Counseling

Interns receive extensive individualized counseling related to their personal concerns, academic status, and career planning. Personal counseling is directed toward helping them resolve problems, build self-esteem (when appropriate), and develop a sense of responsibility. Counseling sessions are held at least biweekly. Counselors schedule sessions if interns have not taken the initiative themselves. Topics covered vary from in-program concerns such as friction between interns to out-of-program concerns such as day care needs for the children of interns.

Academic counseling assists interns with attendance, grades, the number of credits required to graduate, course selection, conflicts with instructors, and so on. Career counseling is concerned with enhancing career planning and knowledge among interns. It aims at acquainting interns with the world of work: how to dress, how to address people in authority, the importance of punctuality, and when direct and indirect questions are appropriate in work situations.

Teachers, counselors, and career developers work together to assist interns with intern career orientation and job placement. Career counseling begins as soon as the intern enters the program. A Career Development Plan (CDP) is developed jointly by the intern and counselor to plan the intern's individual program and subsequently to inform the intern of his/her progress in the program. In addition, staff members are familiar with the intern's career aspirations progress and assist him or her throughout the program's three phases.

Group counseling or informal "rap" sessions are also arranged to help interns express their concerns and feelings to the staff and to each other. Both the individualized and group counseling sessions reinforce the concept of planning for one's future and taking responsibility for one's life. Monitoring their own progress with the CDP helps interns follow through with their plans. Mapping out specific plans also serves to demonstrate to interns how a specific series of steps is required to accomplish one's objectives. The intern is informed of the "game rules," where the beginning is, how far away the end is, and what it takes to get there.

Hands-On

The CIP provides two "Hands-On" or work observation experiences to demonstrate that a link between school and work exists, and that specific skills are required to function in a "real job." The Hands-On is a Phase II (career exploration) activity that explores career fields of interest to the interns. Each intern is asked to indicate two career fields that are of particular interest at the time of entry. These become the foci of directed research, and a short report on each field is required as part of the Career Counseling Seminar. The career developers find resource people or agencies who will allow interns to work at or observe typical activities related to the job. An intern is assigned to spend a week at each of the two job sites upon successful completion of the first phase of the CIP.

The Hands-On is intended to give interns a detailed look at activities in career fields they have tentatively decided to enter. It, therefore, plays an important dual role in the CIP, both in motivating interns to complete the preparatory work prior to going to the job sites, and in informing them about the real (as opposed to the popularly conceived) activities that a career entails.

Intern Formalized Assessment and Disposition Conferences

Interns are formally evaluated at three distinct points to ensure that they keep abreast of their current status in the CIP, are taking the proper courses, and are progressing toward the diploma. Interns are given a proficiency test upon entry. Formalized assessment is also carried out at the midpoint and the end of each school term, when instructors assign grades and credits.

Disposition conferences also provide information about the progress of each intern. These conferences involve all the staff members who work with the intern and are held at least every two weeks. Typically, a staff meeting is held after school and one staff member will go through half of the enrolled interns' folders, requesting comments on each intern's performance. Interns are not present.

Assessment is done on a regular, scheduled basis; all staff members who work with an intern are involved; and interns and their parents are formally presented with assessment results and asked to get involved with future planning. These procedures enhance communications among staff, parents, and interns and serve to reinforce the appropriate attitudes and behaviors needed for the successful completion of high school. Periodic assessment and feedback helps interns understand the specific steps or linkages required to accomplish their objectives and is a means for making sure they do not fall by the wayside. In addition, it provides a model of behavior to internalize--enabling interns to make more accurate self-assessments of their progress.

Program Climate

The program climate is a result of all participants' values, beliefs, behaviors and communication patterns. However, the staff have the major influence. Staff climate is directed by program ideology and manifests itself in various forms, including individualized attention, personalized counseling, language and dress codes, and attention to interns' personal as well as school problems. CIP staff expect that they will be able to prevent interns from being "turned off" by producing a program climate that is both supportive and motivating. Interns are treated as whole persons. School life is not separated from non-academic, family, and community experiences. Also, interns are not sheltered from reality; they are held responsible for their actions. Rules and regulations produce a simulated world-of-work atmosphere. Communications among staff members and between staff members and interns are kept open. Interns are encouraged by the staff (and other interns) to "hang in there."

Interns' enthusiasm about instruction, positive attitudes towards the CIP, and diligence about their attendance are indications that the appropriate climate has been created. Interns are actively involved in learning activities (e.g., participating in class discussions) and become active in enforcing CIP behavioral norms among themselves.

Instruction and counseling feed into each other and are informed by each other. Both components attempt to serve the intern according to the whole-person concept. The disposition conferences facilitate interchange among staff members about all aspects of each intern's life. This mechanism encourages consistent treatment of interns by staff members in both the instructional and counseling departments. It also enhances the probability that all staff members will perceive interns as more than "students" or "counselees" or "kids with family problems" or any other narrowly defined role. The infusion of career-related content into academic instruction further reinforces the holistic approach of the program. Taken together, these various elements of program climate are intended to help change youths' perceptions of learning, of their post-school prospects, and, most important, of their own ability to lead satisfying and productive lives. (The three overlapping phases in the core subsystem are presented in Figure 5.)

Supporting Components

Supporting components include rules and regulations; CIP personnel; the curriculum; the recruiting program; and the facilities, funds, materials, and supplies. They also encompass relations with the local education agency (LEA); arrangements with the local teachers' association; the participation of industrial, business, and social agencies in the community; and the roles of OIC/A and the local OIC. All of these components serve to facilitate implementation of the core components. (See Figure 6.)

Rules and Regulations

The CIP body of rules and regulations address such areas as: apparel, attendance, tardiness, physical altercations, smoking, the pass system, and the care of school property. This system is designed to support and reinforce various core activities. The

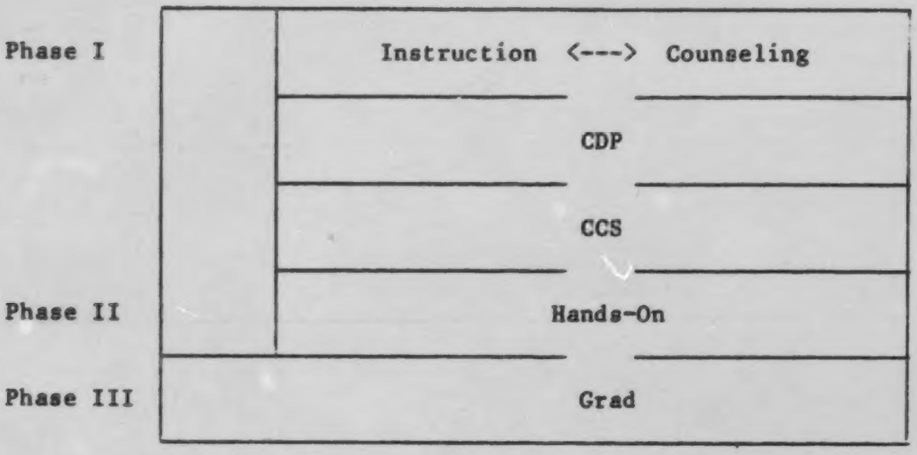

Phase I
Instruction <---> Counseling
CDP
CCS
Phase II
Hands-On
Phase III
Grad

Figure 5. CIP core components

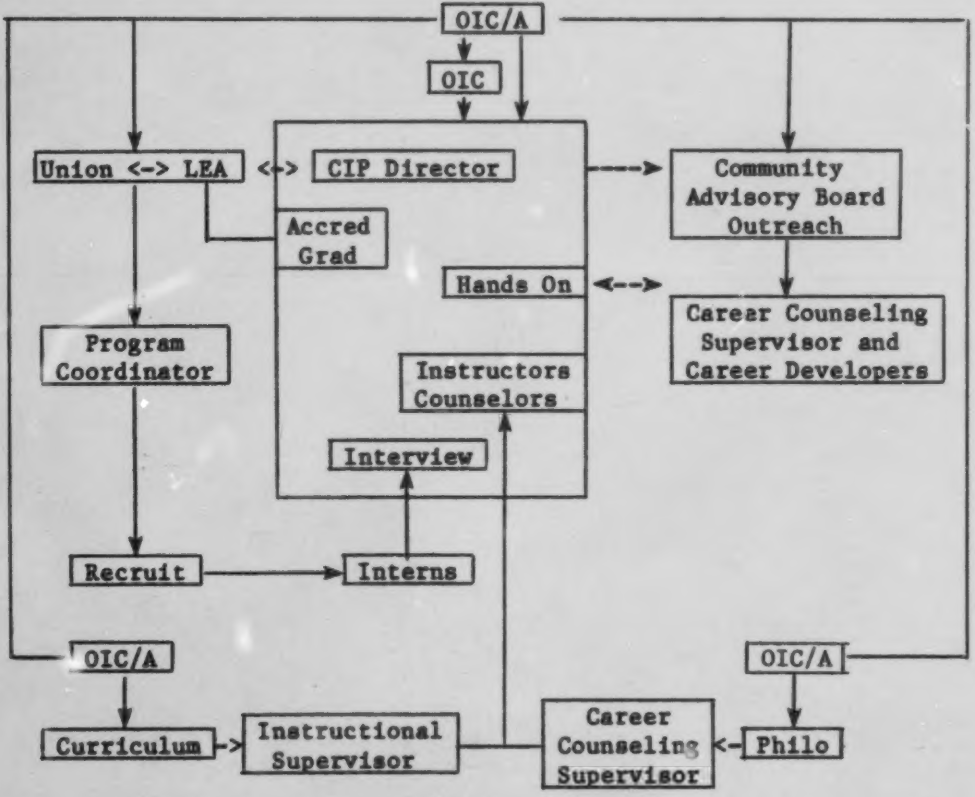

OIC/A
OIC
Union <-> LEA
<->
CIP Director
Community Advisory Board Outreach
Accred Grad
Hands On
<-->
Career Counseling Supervisor and Career Developers
Program Coordinator
Instructors Counselors
Interview
Recruit
Interns
OIC/A
OIC/A
Curriculum
->
Instructional Supervisor
Career Counseling Supervisor
<-
Philo

Figure 6. Supporting components

system is administered by the entire staff; however, primary responsibility lies with the director and middle management.

The program rules and regulations are guided by the CIP ideology and it is one of the most significant tools employed by staff to produce the program climate alluded to earlier. It enforces behavioral rules reflecting the realities of the world of work. Interns are held accountable for such infractions as being absent or late, loitering in the halls, missing assignments, and dressing inappropriately. Underestimation of the significance of this component manifests itself in a breakdown of "proper intern behavior," e.g., tardiness, improper apparel, graffiti, etc. This component is a vehicle for the staff to express their concern for interns.

Personnel qualifications. The CIP recruits and maintains a cadre of motivated, caring instructors, counselors, and career developers who are sensitive to the needs and concerns of interns. They have some experience both in their fields of specialization and in alternative educational environments. Instructors ideally have a minimum of three years' teaching experience and bachelor's degrees in their discipline. Counselors and career developers with two to three years' counseling experience, bachelor's degrees, and ability in both personal and vocational guidance are recruited.

A CIP director is expected to have a master's degree in either education or business administration and five years' experience in educational administration or counseling. The director is also expected to have the ability to provide "charismatic" leadership in "highly unstructured situations" and "under pressure." These qualifications are essential to providing an interface with the LEA and community, and to maintaining a cohesive staff.

The instructional supervisor is the leader of the instructional team. This individual is expected to have at least four years of teaching experience, a master's degree, certification in two teaching subjects, the skills to demonstrate innovative and independent teaching techniques, and the ability to supervise instructors.

The career counseling supervisor is expected to have supervisory experience, three years' experience in personal and vocational guidance, and an academic degree in a related field. In addition, he or she should be self-directed and able to work well in task groups. Together, the two supervisors are expected to promote and maintain cooperative working relationships among all staff members.

To strengthen the instructional team, a CIP staff includes among its instructors two specialists, one in reading and one in math. Each of these persons should hold a master's degree and have at least four years of teaching experience. The math specialist should be knowledgeable about "remedial math" and "new math teaching techniques." The reading specialist should be familiar with several reading programs at various reading levels. Both these staff members serve the function of ensuring that the CIP accommodates the varying ability levels and needs of the interns.

The "curriculum liaison/resource center specialist," is selected to provide assistance to staff in adapting curriculum and to staff the library/resource center. He or she should be trained in curriculum and materials development and experienced in library operations.

The school coordinator plays a liaison role between the CIP and the feeder schools. This person ideally should have eight years of teaching experience, a minimum of two years' administrative experience, and a master's degree. The school coordinator should be a school district employee that becomes a CIP staff person. The school coordinator selected for the CIP is expected to be experienced in and familiar with the school district and its procedures since the role requires extensive contact with the district. Actual experience in educational settings and dedication to serving the CIP's intended clients are the two primary attributes expected of all professional staff members.

In addition to the professional staff members, there is a support staff of two secretaries, one or two "associate professionals" (administrative/teaching aides), and a maintenance/ security person. Secretaries must be able to work under pressure and be sensitive and personable with interns and staff. Associate professionals must have versatile skills and be able to substitute at a moment's notice, process requisitions, and serve as jacks of all trades. The maintenance/security person is responsible for preserving the appearance and the security of the school building. These tasks are vital in keeping up intern morale and as a safeguard in CIP locales. In addition, the maintenance/security person, like all other personnel, must also be interested in helping interns.

Personnel roles. Successful implementation of the CIP requires positive relationships and communications among staff members, and between staff members and interns. Open communication enables instructors, counselors, and career developers to understand a given intern's academic and personal situation and problems. Formal transactions such as staff meetings and disposition conferences and less structured situations provide opportunities for exchange of important information about the program and the interns. An atmosphere of trust among staff members and the development of an esprit de corps facilitate open communications. The CIP director and supervisors are primarily responsible for creating and maintaining this work environment. Their sensitivity and competence are thus critical to implementation.

Instructors, counselors, and career developers are expected to communicate with interns daily. Although separate staff positions carry specific responsibilities (e.g., "math instructor," "counselor," "reading specialist"), staff members' interactions with interns extend beyond their specific roles. Instructors are expected to demonstrate an interest in the personal concerns of the intern, counselors and career developers are expected to demonstrate an interest in the intern's academic performance, and the school coordinators should also be interested in and aware of attendance and tardiness patterns.

Strong leadership is essential to maintain the functional unity of the system. The director is responsible for meeting the demands of: socializing the staff in their roles, orienting the interns to CIP academic and behavioral expectations, meeting LEA requirements for high school graduation, making sure essential materials and supplies are available, and planning recruitment strategies for future interns. In addition this individual is expected to spend considerable time in the classrooms monitoring instruction and modeling appropriate teaching techniques. He/she is also expected to participate in frequent meetings with staff members to discuss instructional matters and to give in-service training. Finally, the director's role includes outreach to the community to create awareness of and support for the local OIC and OIC/A.

The instructional supervisor is responsible for infusing the curriculum with a career orientation, ensuring that intern assessment occurs on a regular basis, and promoting opportunities for learning beyond those available in traditional classrooms. The career counseling supervisor's tasks include monitoring the development and maintenance of interns' Career Development Plans, developing procedures to track interns' academic and career progress, "rostering" (scheduling) individual interns into classes, and establishing guidelines for the provision of Hands-On experiences, on-the-job training, and part- and full-time employment.

The math and reading specialists are instructors who are expected to provide "intermediate level instructional work." The reading specialist is also expected to provide assistance (under the instructional supervisor's guidance) to other instructors for the integration of reading into their subject areas. Both specialists are resource persons for their colleagues; however they do not have specific leadership assignments.

The curriculum liaison/resource center specialist has three main duties: managing the Learning Resource Center, assisting in curriculum development, and finding suitable instructional materials (when requested by instructors). Finally, the school coordinator is the normal link between the CIP and the feeder schools and is responsible for managing the recruitment and intake of interns.

The roles played by all the CIP staff contribute to the successful daily operation of the CIP. Management tasks performed by the director and the supervisors are designed to ensure that cooperation between the CIP and the feeder schools is achieved. In addition, management is primarily responsible for maintaining good relations with the industrial community and maintaining open channels of communication among staff. The roles played by the instructional and counseling staff and other CIP staff are designed primarily to facilitate intern academic achievement and personal responsibility.

Curriculum. Curriculum was discussed implicitly under "Instruction." It is included here as a discrete supporting component because the curriculum must be designed to meet both the requirements of the LEA and the needs of the interns. This activity is shared by all staff members. It provides the staff an opportunity to establish working relationships and a sense of ownership of the program.

Staff endorsement of the CIP curriculum philosophy is clearly critical to the CIP's successful operation. Such endorsement entails (a) acceptance of the elements of the core curriculum--English, social studies, math, science, and career awareness and exploration objectives; (b) subscription to the learning-packet approach for individualizing instruction; and (c) willingness to let interns progress at their own rates. The CIP guidelines for the demonstration indicate that the curriculum is based on two sources: the objectives provided by OIC/A, especially as manifested in the learning packets developed in the prototype site, and the local curriculum requirements of the LEA and/or state authorities for high school graduation. To generate an appropriate CIP curriculum, these two sources are merged, and new materials are developed, along with new methods, as needed to meet both sets of expectations.

In adapting or developing curriculum units, staff members are particularly careful to include learning activities that relate academic content to the "real world" of everyday life and jobs. This "fusing" of the curriculum provides motivation for the interns by highlighting the relevance of their academic studies to the world beyond the school walls.

Recruitment. The CIP serves youth between 16 and 21 years of age who have dropped out of school or who are at risk of doing so. Recruitment strategies range from mass media to personal presentations before community groups. Emphasis is placed on establishing strong working relationships with "feeder" schools to secure up-to-date lists of dropouts and potential dropouts.

Once potential interns display interest in the program, they are tested to see if they meet the reading-ability requirement. Those who do are then interviewed, along with their parents. (They are also requested to complete approximately four hours of psychometric tests for the evaluation.) Interns are given a two-day orientation upon acceptance into the CIP before beginning formal diagnostic testing and placement in the instructional program.

The school coordinator is specifically assigned responsibility for recruitment; however, other staff members and interns also participate in recruitment efforts as necessary. Parents are involved in the entry and acceptance of new interns into the program to develop a link to the home from the beginning of the program.

Facilities. The local OIC is expected to secure a building capable of housing the projected CIP enrollment of approximately 150 interns per year. The building houses offices for approximately 10 staff members, a classroom for each instructor, a learning resource center (combination library, resource center, and study hall), physical education facilities, and a cafeteria. It is also expected to meet minimum standards of safety and comfort (adequate lighting, heat, lavatories, etc.). The building should be sructurally arranged to facilitate communication, e.g., all classes and offices within a reasonable proximity and accessible to interns and staff. Finally, the site should be accessible from the interns' residential neighborhoods. The LEA is expected to provide some of the necessary furnishings: tables, desks, and chairs, as in-kind support for the CIP.

Funds. The project budget is administered by the local OIC. The OIC Executive Director formally approves monthly budget allocations and CIP requisitions. The CIP director, however, is given considerable discretion in requesting budget modifications. Ideally, reasonable requests for funds are honored quickly so as to prevent any interference with ongoing program activities.

Materials and supplies. Books, learning packets, instructional and career materials, office equipment and supplies, and the like should be available from the moment operation begins. Instructors and the curriculum resource specialist have primary responsibility for ordering materials throughout the year, thus ensuring that materials are well matched to the needs of the interns.

Relations with the LEA. An unusual feature of the CIP is its status as an autonomous alternative school that depends on the feeder schools to award diplomas to its graduates.* This feature, which distinguishes the CIP from virtually all other educational innovations, imposes many requirements on the program. The task of establishing a good working relationship with the LEA falls largely on the CIP director, although the local OIC is charged with making the initial arrangements.

There are four significant concerns regarding the CIP-LEA relationship. First, the CIP career emphasis must be accommodated within the LEA graduation requirements. Second, since it requires the LEA's assistance in recruitment (by providing lists of both potential and actual high school dropouts), the CIP must be accepted by the LEA as a legitimate alternative educational program. Third, the CIP requires that the local school district grant credit for such nontraditional activity as the Hands-On experience and the on-the-job training. Fourth, in-kind support from the LEA may be needed in the areas of transportation, physical education facilities, and even student lunches. LEA cooperation is expected partially because the CIP is able to serve students the LEA is less able to serve. More importantly, however, there is a financial incentive. Youth enrolled in the CIP are added to or remain on the student rolls of the school district. Consequently, students enrolled in CIP actually bring state monies into the LEA. This mutually advantageous arrangement evolved at the prototype site over an extended time period but is now an integral part of the CIP model.

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*Site A is the only site that has been integrated into the LEA and awards its own diplomas.

Relations with teachers' association. CIP staff members are expected to be as qualified as their counterparts in the public schools. This criterion must be met if CIP participants are to receive valid academic credits and regular high school diplomas (rather than certificates of general equivalency, or GEDs). This means that the instructors (and the counselors in some states) must either be certified or "certifiable," having completed all requirements for certification. Persons with such qualifications are likely to belong to, or be candidates for membership in, local teachers' associations or unions. Union policies of hiring and firing on the basis of seniority, of restricting work hours, of controlling salary rates, etc., are often contrary to the CIP philosophy.

Because any attempt to establish an alternative school that grants LEA diplomas without the cooperation of the teachers' group may be interpreted as an attempt to "bust the union," the CIP requires that the program obtain approval and staffing arrangement by a local teachers' group. Issues such as teacher certification and the placement of union teachers on the CIP staff are usually negotiated. A great deal of flexibility is required to meet local conditions and to obtain the teacher association's support.

Relations with community. A close relation between the CIP and the local community is required to ensure that the CIP can offer a wide variety of appropriate Hands-On experiences to interns. This bond is formalized through the appointment of an Advisory Committee that consists of representatives of industry, business, government, and education in the community. The Advisory Committee is an important element of the design for three reasons: (a) the collective knowledge and perceptions of the committee are expected to guide the career content and focus of the CIP to prepare interns for occupations that exist in the community; (b) the committee members' informal communication networks can be used to link the CIP to a pool of business firms and agencies that represent potential settings for the interns' Hands-On experience; and (c) committee members can be instrumental in helping CIP graduates gain entry to post-secondary institutions and job opportunities.

Parent involvement in the program represents another form of CIP/community relationship. Parent contact and orientation is considered important to the CIP, although it is not frequent. The CIP attempts to foster strong support for the program by informing parents about their children's progress periodically and inviting them to contribute to planning intern programs. This plan is also expected to lead to favorable community perceptions of the program.

A final aspect of community relations--outreach--is less formal than the Advisory Committee and parent involvement. Outreach involves soliciting various community services to publicize the program. The director is primarily responsible for outreach into a broad spectrum of community groups, agencies, and media. In general, however, the entire CIP staff use whatever avenues for outreach to the community are available.

OIC/A role. As the developer of the CIP prototype and its disseminator, OIC/A monitors the ongoing implementation of the CIP, provides feedback to prevent and solve problems, and supplies staff training and other technical assistance. OIC/A also authorizes adaptations to the CIP model to accommodate the sites' new environments and is responsible for the sites' compliance to requirements imposed by the LEAs. In addition OIC/A provides funding and oversees the sites' fiscal management.

OIC/A developed a catalog listing and describing the technical assistance workshops it could provide the sites. This list included seven workshops dealing with instruction, seven related to counseling, and twelve concerned with such general issues as factors affecting motivation and communication, performance standards, and management by objectives. OIC/A also informed the sites that technical assistance on any aspect of the CIP would be available as needed.

Local OIC role. The local OIC is the sponsor of the local CIP and the intermediary between the program developer (OIC/A) and its implementors (the CIP staff). The local OIC uses its contacts to introduce the CIP to the community and build support for it. The local situation determines the extent of direct involvement the local OIC should have in CIP operations. The local OIC extends its technical assistance and resources to the CIP, administers the CIP budget and gives formal approval to personnel and other significant decisions made by the CIP director. At the same time it assures the CIP director's autonomy in many decisions.

The core and supporting components of the CIP are numerous. Some are complex; some are straightforward. Both, however, are dependent on the CIP philosophy or ideology. The CIP is extremely dependent on staff members' abilities to assume new roles and carry out a variety of different functions simultaneously. The role of ideology serves to facilitate this adjustment by providing a framework for the new behaviors. (Figure 7 summarizes the interrelationships between the core and supporting components.)

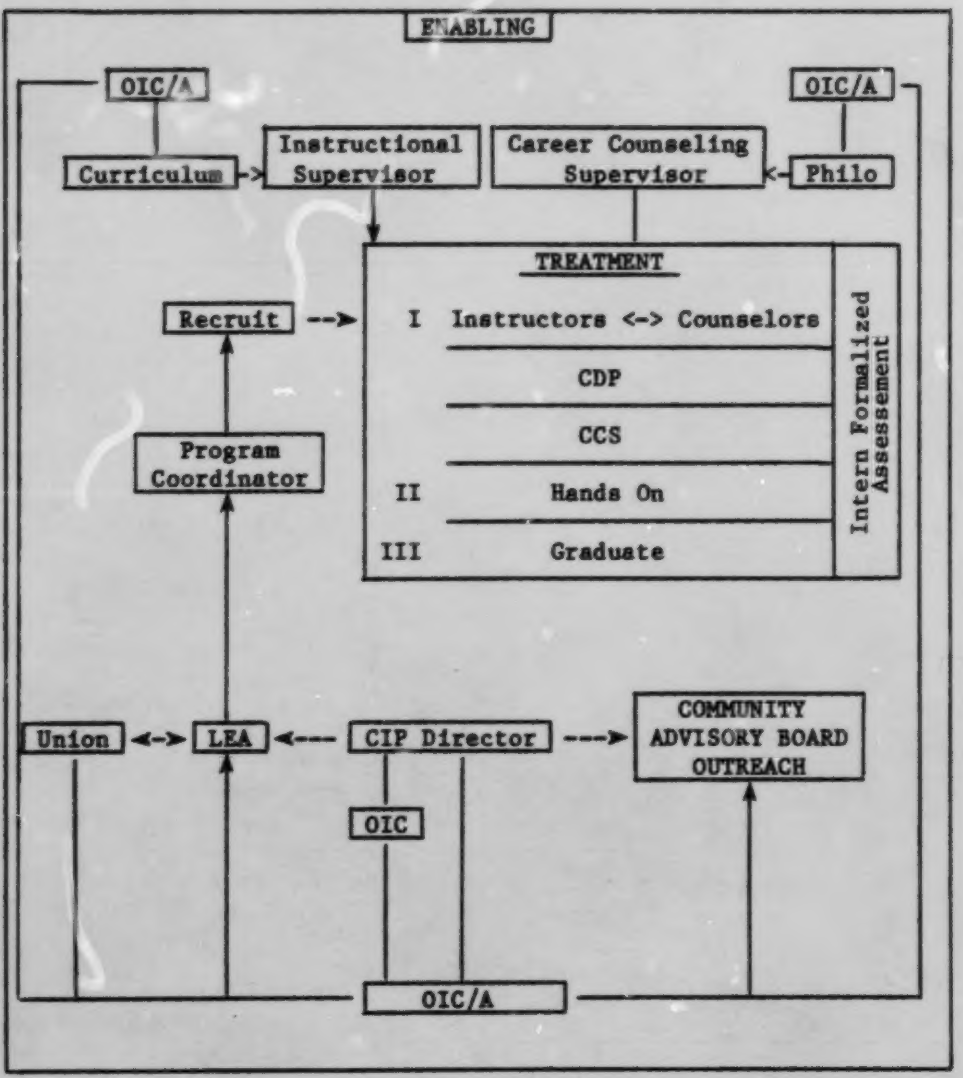
ENABLING
OIC/A
OIC/A
Curriculum
Instructional Supervisor
Career Counseling Supervisor
Philo
TREATMENT
Recruit
I Instructors <-> Counselors
CDP
CCS
II Hands On
III Graduate
Intern Formalized Assessement
Program Coordinator
Union
LEA
CIP Director
COMMUNITY ADVISORY BOARD OUTREACH
OIC
OIC/A

Figure 7. Interrelationships between Core, Supporting and Ideological Components

Philosophy/Ideology

The CIP philosophy is one of the most significant keys to the successful operation of the program. It is an extension of the OIC and OIC/A philosophy: a fusion between a humanistic "serving the whole person" concept and a work ethic ideology. The OIC ideological orientation is congruent with the underlying ideological orientation of the American economic system.

An examination of the CIP philosophy and the process by which it is translated into practice provides insights into the dynamics of program operation. Program components, whether core, support or ideological, all have multiple overlapping purposes and effects. Salient elements have been abstracted to illustrate the interrelated nature of program variables or components. The major elements include: caring about interns, providing a supportive context for them, providing a realistic perspective in which they operate, "dealing with the whole intern," maintaining high expectations for both personal and academic growth, treating interns as (young) adults, and treating them as individuals.

Caring

Caring about interns is defined as displaying an interest and concern about the general welfare of the individual--personally and academically. Caring is manifested in the core components of the program, in individualized instruction, extensive counseling, and just by listening to interns when they are speaking. The maintenance system provides a critical vehicle for transmitting this concern--ranging from formal reprimands for lateness, to disapproving looks for inappropriate apparel. Simply commenting casually on an intern's new shoes, a movie, or a disco beat represents one of the most typical (and effective) mechanisms for transmitting staff concern for interns.

Displaying personal concern about interns is not the same as babying interns, becoming best friends, or being indiscriminantly lenient with them. The maintenance of the instructor-intern or counselor-intern relationship (with its implied differential power) serves an important function in the creation of an atmosphere of respect and purposefulness for all parties concerned. High expectations represent a form of caring and should not, according to one instructor, be undermined by "unearned" leniency.

Supportive Context

Staff convey a sense of confidence and personal interest in the interns' ability to succeed by listening to what interns say and prodding them to elaborate in class discussions. Providing interns with almost as many counseling personnel, e.g., counselors and career developers, as instructors and enabling interns to see counselors throughout the day to work out their problems defuses potential problems. The disposition conferences serve to facilitate the sharing of information about interns, creating a network of concern for them.

In addition, experienced staff members attempt to defuse rather than escalate problems. A sensitive staff and a curriculum that runs smoothly and makes sense to interns help to create the necessary supportive structure.

Realistic Perspective

Interns are taught the need to understand and follow certain prerequisite steps in order to accomplish objectives. The Career Development Plan provides an educational experience that actually prepares interns for careers.

Preparation for short term jobs can be a useful means of preparing for larger and larger steps. The danger, however, is that interns may be intimidated by the long roads ahead of them and their educational aspirations may suffer as a result. The CIP staff try to lead interns to realistic perspectives without "scaring them off."

Intern Formalized Assessment and a code of rules and regulations offer feedback mechanisms to let interns and their parents know how far and how well they have progressed. Punctuality, appropriate apparel, appropriate language codes, and completion of assignments are reinforced by the rules; failure to meet these demands is negatively reinforced* in the form of warnings, consultations and disciplinary action.

The CIP prepares interns for careers, sensitizing them to and enculturating them with career-related concerns such as the importance of hard work, dedication, punctuality, and appropriate language and apparel through its fused curriculum, its rules and regulations, and various other means. The program staff help interns formulate realistic educational and career goals. Career developers contribute to this goal by making interns' school experience as close to the reality they are likely to encounter as possible, e.g., Hands-On experience. In addition, they keep up with the changing job market interns will enter. Fundamentally, however, the interns must recognize that they are responsible for their own actions. As one instructor commented: "If they want to make it, I'll help them, but it's up to them in the final analysis, they've got to put out."

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*Negative reinforcement is often perceived as a form of caring and attention by interns.

Dealing with the Whole Intern

Academic growth and personal well being are mutually interdependent. Instructors and counselors contribute to the intern's progress through the CIP in disposition conferences and in daily interaction. Teaching interns to "follow expected social norms" in postsecondary education and work is considered as important as cognitive and affective growth. Self presentation skills are stressed as strongly as the acquisition of academic skills. The interns' life outside of school is always taken into consideration in assessing an intern's progress. Parents, guardians, friends, probation officers, and so on are involved through home visits, phone calls, and invitations to the school (open house).

High Expectations

All staff members maintain high personal and academic expectations for interns. The consequences of low expectation on academic achievement, (e.g., learning to read) for inner city students have been well documented in the literature (Rosenfeld, 1971; Rist, 1970; Spindler, 1974; McDermott, 1974). Instructors in the CIP expect interns to complete assigned work on time and challenge unsupported views--often using values clarification or inquiry method skills--without intimidating the interns.

Counselors are also "demanding"--emphasizing the need to "stick with it" (the CDP). They promote high standards in the areas of politeness and common courtesy; e.g., not allowing interns to interrupt an ongoing discussion, encouraging the use of "proper" language (no vulgarities in their presence). In addition, the use of black English vernacular is discouraged in formal interactions. Group counseling sessions and assemblies are held periodically when the behavior of a large number of individuals does not match the staff's high expectations.

Rules and regulations are used to remind interns of the staff's high expectations of them, e.g., passes are required from counselors for lateness, individuals are reminded (subtly or overtly) to remove their hats in the building, the vernacular is considered inappropriate for guests and formal classroom activities, etc. Behavior on field trips is expected to be exemplary--lively but within the "boundaries of acceptable behavior" according to two instructors. Field trips implicitly represent a test of how well interns are internalizing the high standards of conduct.

Adult Treatment

One of the problems interns encountered in the regular public high school was that they felt they were treated like children with no opportunity to plan their future. The staff are aware of the interns' former experiences and their social responsibilities and make an effort to interact with interns in a manner that acknowledges their responsibility for their own actions and their part in planning the future. However, they also recognize that they are young adults--that they are not fully responsible adults. Interns are respected but not treated as co-workers or equals. A delicate balance must be maintained between treating interns as responsible adults and as youths needing guidance. The relationship between interns and instructors serves as a model of future employer-employee relationships.

Individual Treatment

Interns are not all alike. Treating interns as individuals involves recognizing and respecting the intra-cultural diversity that exists among them. Each intern has an individual personality with specific talents and abilities, interests, likes, and dislikes. Many of the interns are leaders, as an examination of their lives reveals, and have stood out from the crowd for a long time. In fact, approximately 15% of the interns at each site listed associations with the "wrong crowd" as a major contributing factor to their dropping out of school. (This is a point requiring emphasis because it has not been reported in the literature to date as a significant basis for dropping out.)

The CIP staff remember the interns' names but, more important, they treat interns as individuals with individual problems and concerns. Individualized instruction is used to attend to individual academic needs. Personal counseling addresses individual concerns such as parental problems, a need for day care facilities for children, and severe personality clashes with instructors. Career developers attempt to secure Hands-On experiences that reflect intern interests. In addition, staff members take a personal interest in the interns, e.g., discussing movies seen, music mutually enjoyed, politics, etc.

OIC/A Philosophy/Ideology

The CIP philosophy is a direct extension of the OIC and OIC/A philosophy. The foundations of the organization are deeply embedded in the church; however, the philosophy and ideological orientation are primarily manifested in manpower training programs. The central themes of the OIC philosophy are service to the whole person and helping people help themselves.

OIC/A was originally established to serve the needs of "disadvantaged, poor, unskilled, and unemployed minority people in Philadelphia." From this beginning it has expanded its programs and services nationwide while remaining a community-based manpower training program. Throughout its dramatic growth, OIC has kept its roots tied to the church. OIC/A's convocation literature discussed the significance of this linkage:

> In no small measure, OIC owes its success to the direct involvement of religious leaders... The greatest strength for continued survival, growth and progress of an OIC movement rests with its community based roots and the time tested support of the church. The OIC community base is people. The firm religious foundation is the underlying force which founded and developed OIC. (14th Annual Convocation, April 1978)

OIC has served as a revitalization group through its training programs, special job creation programs for youth and others, and community investment cooperatives. Skills training programs represent the most typical OIC vehicle for serving people throughout the United States. The programs offer GEDs and job training in such areas as welding, plumbing, drafting, auto body repairs, banking, police work, etc. OIC local programs have trained individuals in over 75 different skill areas. Furthermore, they have trained over 426,000 persons and placed over 270,000 in meaningful, rather than "dead end," jobs. OIC is quick to point out that over one-third of their trainees were on welfare before coming to OIC. The organization calculates that OIC alumni have contributed an estimated "$600 million to the national economy in tax dollars alone." In addition, OIC has provided extensive exploration/training programs that assist individuals gain entry to careers that require postsecondary education. OIC has grown into a total economic-development and job-creation movement that serves a cross section of the unskilled, unemployed, and disadvantaged in more than 140 communities both in the United States and abroad.

> The OIC comprehensive program is founded on this OIC self help, whole person philosophy. It provides specific services to meet the specific needs of each trainee for personal and occupational growth. OIC recognized quickly that to help disadvantaged and minority people the program must include assistance in overcoming individual and family problems that inhibit learning, while also providing personal attitude and motivation development. (Opportunities Industrialization Centers of America, 1977)

OIC is committed to the viability of the existing economic system. These activities, therefore, are aimed at working within the system--to help disenfranchised alienated individuals and groups "claim their fair share" of the pie and "break the cycle of poverty."

The theoretical underpinnings of the OIC philosophy are based on the Protestant (or work) ethic (Weber, 1958). Hard work, delayed gratification, saving, orientation toward the future, emphasis on competence and pride in one's work, attendance, punctuality, and proper appearance are all fundamental elements of the work ethic on which the American economic system is founded.

OIC adherence to the work ethic ideology is reflected in the emphasis on giving people "marketable skills" in the labor force as a solution to their problems. In addition, their ideological base is explicitly stated in OIC/A literature.

> OIC is premised on the work ethic. In a rapidly advancing technological world people must learn skills and develop themselves to a point where they can enter the work force as capable contributors. Our goal is to give people marketable capabilities. OIC's close link with business and industry at the national and local levels gives us a realistic view of what OIC trainees must be able to do in order to qualify for current and future labor force needs. Close contact with the community, in the streets of major urban centers and small rural towns, enables OIC to develop programs which reach the severely disadvantaged and bring them out of a world of dependency, hopelessness and hostility and into a world of competence and pride in their area of work. (Opportunities Industrialization Centers of America, 1977)

Fundamentally OIC's work ethic ideology and humanistic philosophy has carried over to the CIP design and implementation. The CIP approach of caring, providing a supportive context, treating interns as individuals and adults, providing a realistic perspective for interns, and maintaining high expectations both personally and academically, both reflects and fulfills OIC's ideological/philosophical orientation.

> Failure is seen by program staff as a function of social and economic factors, while blame is not theirs, the responsibility for success is. (Gibboney Associates, 1977, p. 182)

(Figure 8 summarizes the ideological components. Figure 9 provides an overall perspective on subsystem and component interrelationships.)

Extension of OIC/A Philosophy and Ideological Orientation	Examples of how philosophy translates into program practices
CIP PHILOSOPHY	CIP PRACTICE (Examples)
Caring about interns	Individualized instruction Extensive counseling Commenting on new shoes High expectations
Providing a supportive context for interns	Listen to what interns say Provide almost as many counselors as instructors Disposition conferences Recruit qualified staff
Providing a realistic perspective	CDP Intern formalized assessment Maintenance System Fused curriculum Hands-on Responsible for one's own actions
Dealing with the whole intern	Disposition conference Academic and personal life Daily interaction Attention to apparel, language, walk and hygiene Home visits, phone calls
Maintaining high expectations of interns--personally and academically	Instructors demand completed assignments (on-time) Counselor insists stick with CDP (unless inappropriate) Politeness and courtesy emphasized Group counseling assemblies Maintenance system, field trips

Figure 8. Ideological components of the CIP, based on OIC/A work ethic ideology (self-help or "we help ourselves") and humanistic philosophy (serve-the-whole-person concept)

CIP PHILOSOPHY	CIP PRACTICE (Examples)
Treating interns as (young) adults	Responsibility for own actions emphasized Major role in planning future Respect intern experience and social responsibilities Instructor-intern relationship used as model for future employment roles CDP foster responsibility Maintenance system reinforce behavior patterns
Treat interns as individuals	Intracultural diversity emphasized Individual personalities, leaders Some not want "wrong ground" Racial and academic discrimination of past (thought of as a homogeneous group) Individualized instruction Personal counseling Career developer secures Hands-on regarding intern interest Staff displays individual personal concern

Figure 8. (continued)

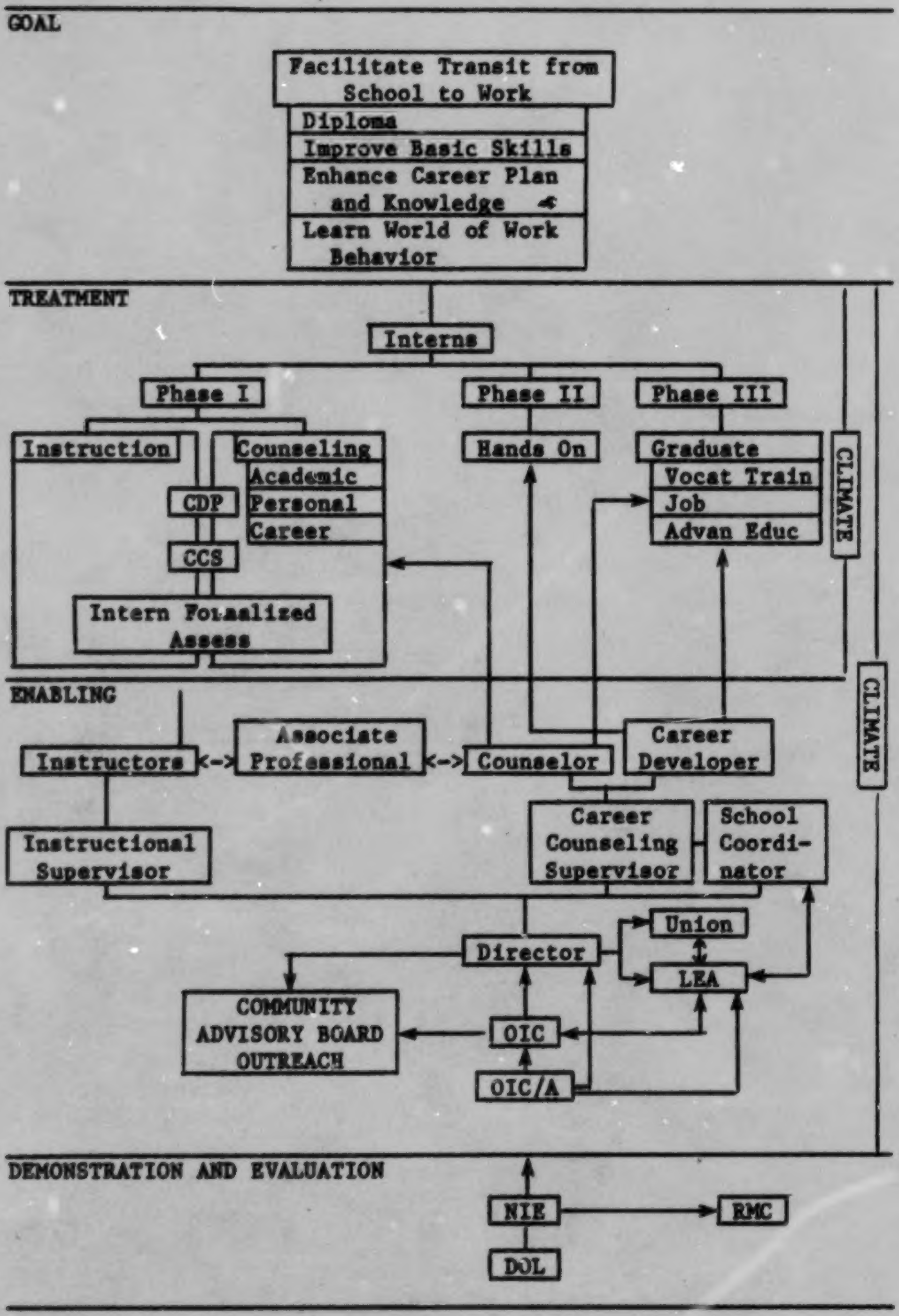
GOAL
Facilitate Transit from School to Work
Diploma
Improve Basic Skills
Enhance Career Plan and Knowledge
Learn World of Work Behavior
TREATMENT
Interns
Phase I
Phase II
Phase III
Instruction
Counseling
Academic
Personal
Career
CDP
CCS
Intern Formalized Assess
Hands On
Graduate
Vocat Train
Job
Advan Educ
CLIMATE
ENABLING
Instructors
Associate Professional
Counselor
Career Developer
Instructional Supervisor
Career Counseling Supervisor
School Coordinator
Director
Union
LEA
COMMUNITY ADVISORY BOARD OUTREACH
OIC
OIC/A
CLIMATE
DEMONSTRATION AND EVALUATION
NIE
RMC
DOL

Figure 9. Overall perspective on CIP subsystem and component information.

VIII. ETHOS AND INTERRELATIONSHIPS: "TREATMENTS" AND "OUTCOMES"

Ethos consists of the fundamental values or spirit of a group that distinguishes it from other groups. One of the objectives of the CIP replication effort was to reproduce the character of the Philadelphia site--according to the spirit not the letter of the model.

Because the climate at each site offers a useful indication of the site's ability to recreate the ethos of the prototype climate, detailed site-by-site analyses of the program climates were undertaken throughout the demonstration. Representative portions of these descriptions are presented in this chapter. Site visit descriptions provide an insight into the cyclical nature of the program in its developmental stages. There are many fluctuations in program climate that correspond to subcycles in the program operation, e.g., new cohorts of interns entering the program, seasonal differences, and various factors both intrinsic and extrinsic to the program. The analyses also document the basic functional interrelationships of the program components and intern-staff interaction patterns. These patterns and interrelationships, in turn, help identify many of the significant manifest outcomes of the core, support, and ideological components of the program as well as outcomes due to extrinsic factors.

A brief sketch of some of the significant relationships between various levels of "treatments" and corresponding "outcomes" is presented below following the last program climate description. The purpose of these sketches is to translate the descriptions into the language of treatment and outcome. The interrelationships have been classified according to the following categories: adaptive relationships intrinsic to program operation, adaptive relationships extrinsic to program operation, maladaptive relationships intrinsic to program operation, and maladaptive relationships extrinsic to program operations. The first two categories involve relationships that have constructively contributed to program operation. The second two categories involve relationships that have impaired program operation. All of these categories require examination in order to understand fully the dynamics of program operations at each site. Dominant relationships existing across sites are summarized in the conclusion of the study.

There are many apparent relationships between specific program components, features, or traits and specific outcomes on various levels. There are, however, no simple one-to-one relationships. Specific "treatment" can be identified as a significant factor contributing to a specific outcome; however, the effect of any one specific treatment depends upon the total configuration of variables in the environment. For example, school counseling in a small supportive and closely knit environment differs considerably from the counseling received in an overcrowded, largely anonymous school.

The program is a total sociocultural system within which all components are functionally integrated. The relationships discussed only highlight the significance of various components and the outcomes to which they contribute. The same components might be associated with different outcomes in a different context.

Site A Narrative

Site A, along with the other sites, received a contract from OIC/A on 15 December, 1977. The director of the program was selected from the local OIC. A "program manager" was hired to serve in the dual role of instructional supervisor and general program manager (in contrast to the other programs where the instructional supervisors did not have general management responsibilities). This organizational arrangement was perceived by staff as maladaptive. Instructors complained that they did not receive sufficient support or guidance and that the director was isolated from details of day-to-day operations of the program. Their complaints about this organizational arrangement were compounded by the personality clashes between the individual occupying this role and staff.

An LEA school-liaison person was assigned to the CIP in January 1978; and an LEA curriculum consultant was assigned in February. During this time period, the program was incorporated into the LEA as an alternative school. Site A was unique in this respect; the other sites remained independent of the LEAs. The arrangement proved to be a disincentive for feeder school cooperation early in the demonstration. In the other sites, students served by the CIP remained on the feeder school's rolls. Thus, monies distributed on the basis of average daily attendance continued to flow to the feeder school. At Site A, students enrolled in the CIP had to be removed from the feeder school's roll and local school principals feared a consequent loss of funds. As a result, the schools were inclined to discourage recruitment. The program also encountered a number of recruitment difficulties due to inaccurate feeder school lists of potential interns and competing alternative programs.

The Site A CIP, because of its incorporation into the LEA, was also the only one to award its own diploma. In the other sites, CIP graduates received their diplomas from the feeder school. Students appeared to prefer receiving their diplomas from their former school. The reason why interns returned to the feeder school, according to one OIC official, was to join "their graduating friends. Furthermore, the feeder schools allow CIP interns to be included in the yearbook; thus their interest in commencement exercises." Thus, at Site A, they often returned to the feeder school just before completing their requirements for graduation.

The union and the school board approved the program on 27 February 1978 and, on 20 March, Site A opened its doors to first-cohort interns (the second site to begin operations). LEA support was provided in various forms at this time, e.g., arranging free bus transportation and free school lunches for interns. Cohort II was admitted on 24 July without a control group.

RMC's first site visit occurred in the second week of August 1978. OIC/A was also present, providing technical assistance to the program. Individualized instruction and team teaching approaches were observed. Interns and staff interviews indicated a high morale and a dedication to the program. The only problem observed was the high turnover in management and staff (50%). The NIE August 1978 site report also indicated problems with attendance and staff training, the lack of a resource center, recruitment difficulties including high attrition between testing and entry.

In December, NIE advised OIC/A and the sites of DOL's decision to require the sites to recruit 90 treatment and 55 control members for Cohort III. Failure to meet the new requirement would result in termination of the sites.

The numbers were met and the program began serving the third-cohort interns on 5 February 1979. The threats of termination, however, had negatively affected staff morale and turnover. Between December and February all efforts had to be geared toward recruiting sufficient numbers to meet the enrollment quotas--to the detriment of program operations.

The second evaluation site visit occurred in late February-early March. The effects of weak management and threats of termination were evidenced by staff and intern tardiness, and staff complaints. The dedication of the staff and the interns' interest in the program, however, remained very high. This period is described in the February-March site visit.

February-March 1979 Site Visit

The climate at Site A approximated many of the features described in the idealized model of the program. Instructors employed the individualized approach, with interns working on various assignments at their own pace and receiving frequent tutoring. Instructors were periodically observed relating their subject matter to career and "real life" situations. A math class used advertisements in newspapers to conduct cost comparisons of various products and to determine whether a sale was a bargain or a sales gimmick.

Instructor and counselor lateness and absenteeism were a major problem detracting from program climate and contributing to higher rates of intern absenteeism. Many individuals appeared "to be getting away with it" without being penalized. Staff members complained of "inconsistent messages" and blamed the problem on "weak management" and poor communication. In addition, many staff members felt frustrated in their attempts to do their job. They believed that their requests were bottlenecked at administrative levels of both CIP and OIC.

Counselors described their typical day as "hectic, with lots of discipline, documentation, counseling sessions, telephone calls to parents, and meetings with staff." In their opinion, the CIP was a "program that recognized barriers to learning that are not academic." They described the interns as youth with "non-traditional problems," including cases of pregnancy, housing problems, court appointments, and need for welfare aid. In addition to academic and career counseling, interns were receiving critical auxiliary services at the CIP. Staff members were making arrangements for babysitting (approximately 10% of the interns are single mothers), accompanying interns to juvenile court to report on their current progress, and finding part-time employment for them since many interns need spending money for clothing and transportation.

Much counselor effort went into motivating interns to get to classes on time. Behavioral change in this area is slow, given the fact that many interns come to the CIP "completely turned off by school." Counselors stated, however, that interns were making progress and that "interns who formerly missed two classes a day had improved to a ten-minute tardiness." Much time was also spent with interns going over their personal files and transcripts. In the opinion of one counselor, this process is critical because "some students have never had information given to them, shared with them or [they] have never been made aware of time frames and planning."

In referring to her counselor, an intern who "had been kicked out of school," commented: "She is really sweet. Helps me a lot with real problems and school problems. If I have trouble getting up, she'll call me up before it's too late." Another intern said: "Counselors are nice. My counselor has helped me get a very good job at _____. I'll be assistant secretary." For some interns, staff concern for their personal situations provided an important element in their lives. For their part, counselors reported that "with those students [with whom] we have been successful, it has taken a great deal of one-to-one meetings, with one counselor and also with a career developer."

Instructors tended to emphasize academic concerns and to refer interns to counselors as soon as they detected personal problems. The weekly disposition conferences contributed a great deal toward implementing a "whole person" approach by allowing input from all segments of the staff regarding the intern's academic and personal life.

Interns reported, as one of the most important features of the program, the personalized approach they received from most instructors and being allowed to proceed at their own pace. They also mentioned the importance of the constant feedback they received from both instructors and counselors about their on-going academic progress.

In most cases, the CIP helped the interns by giving them special attention. Interns believe CIP has helped them, as one intern explained:

> At the CIP I have also learned how to control my temper. Mary [counselor] and Debbie [instructor] have helped me, sometimes in class, sometimes out. If I feel pretty bad they will take time out with me. That's good. I came with zero credits to the CIP. Now I have 11.

In other cases, self-directed interns reported the CIP helped them by providing a setting where they can learn. A very articulate intern described his former school and his personal experience at the CIP in the following manner:

> My former high school was not a pleasant place. The attitude and environment was not conducive to learning as opposed to being exposed to juvenile and delinquent elements. The learning experience was hampered by the amount of illegal experience. You had a lot of coercement, peer pressure. The incentive for not going to school was a lot more pleasurable in many cases.
>
> I knew a long time ago about the GED but I wanted a high school diploma. The CIP is helping me attain my goals plus a few things I didn't expect. My attendance is good. I turn in my homework. I am not disrespectful. I take my books home. My field of endeavor is already chosen. I want to go into business administration or management. I'll be graduating next March.

Staff members also functioned as role models. Instructors and counselors reported that the interns "feel more comfortable with their problems" when they know that staff members have faced similar problems at school or in their lives. In this regard, in the CCS class, staff members discussed their own personal experiences and problems in order to gain the interns' confidence.

Support was given to the interns not only affectively, as described above, but also financially. Many CIP interns (approximately one-third) also participated in the Youth Work Program and the Youth Incentive Entitlement Training Program, which provided income. Interns were also recipients of services normally granted by the public high schools, such as free lunches and transportation.

While CIP staff members regretted that their salaries were "much lower" than those in the LEA, they conveyed a feeling of commitment to the program and felt that they were being successful. Despite this and other manifestations of the "austerity budget," most of them were very happy to work at the CIP and made comments such as "I have found myself in here;" "I'm anticipating the CIP really to be great." A counselor said:

> We have graduated people. We have placed them in careers and in college. We have taken people who would have done nothing with their lives and redirected them.

Much of the supportive climate present at the CIP was made possible by the small size of the program. It had an enrollment of about 100 and class size was kept under 20. Both interns and staff members were aware that the small size of the program made a difference. An instructor observed: "I'd hope that they would never have to have CIPs in places larger than this. Kids pick up a kind of surrogate family here."

Rules governing attendance and dress did not appear to be vigorously enforced. Tardiness during the first period when the CCS is offered was severe. It was also quite noticeable in other classes. Attendance was also a problem, averaging around 60%, but lower on Fridays. Regarding discipline, the attitudes of teachers and counselors did not appear consensual: some were annoyed at the interns' behavior and enforced some conduct and dress rules on their own; others took a laissez-faire approach. Expressing dissatisfaction in this regard, one counselor said, "Our problem is that we haven't been too effective in discipline. The inability to implement the intern's code of conduct, for instance. You have to get support all the way down the line. It's important to be consistent with our policy."

Site A had a very active Intern Council, which met weekly and was attended by one member of the CIP's Advisory Committee. Its most important agenda, at the last time the CIP was observed, was to deal with the problems of attendance, class cutting, and the dress code. This concern was a clear indication of how older interns at the CIP try to socialize new interns to the expected norms.

From March to May 1979

RMC issued an interim report on CIP implementation in March. The report described both the successes and the problems each site had encountered to that date. The Site A OIC communicated "the pitfalls" described in the report "so that corrective actions [could] be developed," however, that action appeared to demoralize the staff and create a schism between staff members and RMC. Much effort was required to repair the damage.

At about this time, the director was replaced.

April-May Site Visit

The climate at each of the CIPs had been highly susceptible to problems in the start-up stage such as (a) obtaining an agreement with the LEA and the teachers' union, (b) pressures brought about by the recruitment crisis, (c) and the ability of the CIP director and the two departmental supervisors to keep the staff cohesive and task-oriented. Because of its volatility, the program climate fluctuated throughout the demonstration. Various subclimates are identifiable at the sites. The subclimates correspond to the subgroups in the program: old interns, new interns, old staff, new staff, counselors, instructors, general staff, administration, and so on. The two basic categories discussed below are: intern climate and staff climate. Many variables affect the climate for these two subgroups; however, only the most salient factors are discussed.

At Site A, staff climate began at a high point. Morale was good. Staff members were enthusiastic and performed their duties creatively. They were supportive of and cared about interns. Later, a number of problems were responsible for a progressive decline in the climate. The impact of the austerity budget was increasingly felt; CIP personnel received much lower salaries than the public school staff. In addition, budget policy allowed no provision for raises--either for merit or cost of living. This policy coupled with "weak management," infighting, and excessive numbers of evaluations contributed to high turnover, staff dissatisfaction, and absences.

These problems were compounded by the use of the early RMC evaluation report (according to staff members) "to batter the sites over the head." Selections from the report that contained only the "negative stuff" were read to participants at the sites by the local OIC. A staff member reported:

> We sat there and listened to it (the report) and it got worse and worse and worse. After a while I got up and asked him "Did they say anything good and the reply was: "it wasn't conveyed to me."

This was done to correct "organizational problems" according to the local OIC; however, this resulted in the demoralization of a group of dedicated individuals.

Recently, however, staff spirit has "rekindled." Changes in administrative personnel, increased accountability as exemplified by staff sign-in charts, greater local OIC support, and discussions with the evaluators have significantly contributed to the improvement. Staff members currently display supportive, caring, and more cooperative attitudes and behaviors, including making plans for summer programs to attract and retain interns. Minor conflicts remain, however, including fears of top-level management using scapegoat techniques to remove middle-management personnel. Preliminary indications suggest this problem will be constructively resolved.

Intern climate has paralleled staff climate--beginning at a reasonably high point and progressively declining. High staff turnover detracted from program continuity. Since most interns reported that they came to school to see personalities (specific instructors), high staff turnover and absenteeism was often interpreted as a form of "not caring" and markedly reduced intern motivation to attend regularly.

Although this problem was resolved, its effects continue. In addition, the institution of a new dress code and attendance policy has dismayed the interns. Many interns (presumably temporarily) removed themselves from the program in protest.

Application of the new rules failed to take into account the nature of the interns and the community. Interns are "more complacent here," than in other communities, according to administrators, instructors, counselors, and the interns themselves. Many interns report satisfaction with their jobs, social relationships, and overall lifestyle. A former staff member phrased it as follows: "They are satisfied with their position in life. It's not like poverty like you see in other cities; it's deceiving. They've got jobs but look at the kind of jobs they got!" Also interns are aware of the fact that they don't have to dress conventionally to get a job. They have jobs already. In fact, since the principal of one of the feeder schools wears a hat and shorts in school, they believe the dress code rules are "arbitrary and irrelevant."

Interns at Site A do appear more complacent than interns at other sites. Although they were indignant about the new policies, only a few of them became involved in attempting to alter the dress code, or in the discussions during student council meetings. One instructor related a classroom experience indicative of their general orientation. During role playing in a history lesson, interns were asked what they would do if they were slaves on a plantation. "Would you work to get your freedom--if the master said you could--or would you do something else (if so, what would you do?)"? Every intern responded that increased work would be acceptable. The instructor commented: "I was surprised that no one mentioned revolt."

It is also noteworthy that, while interns appeared complaisant in general, they reported that their grievance was not primarily with the new rules themselves but with the way they were "laid down on us." Interns expected and demanded to be consulted. When they were not, they made little effort to change the situation aside from walking away from it--not attending the program.

From May to December 1979

The new director began work on 22 May 1979, and a counseling supervisor was added to the program during this period. Summer program plans were completed to attract and retain interns. Classes were scheduled to accommodate intern employment schedules. In addition, numerous field trips were planned to retain interns during the summer. The director and program manager resigned in September and were both replaced immediately. RMC visited the program for the fourth time in December 1979.

December 1979 Site Visit

During this visit the staff morale was very low. The counseling staff was involved in recruiting activities for the fourth cohort in December. They commented on the difficulty of "trying to sell a program" to students given the treatment-control design. They were also frustrated by the lack of responsiveness to their requests to remove this constraint. Conflicts within administration were also evidenced in December. Staff members identified communication difficulties as the greatest single problem with the program. There was virtually no communication between counseling and instructional staff--or among instructors. Counselors and instructors, however, were observed fulfilling their required functions. In addition, the new program manager was reworking the curriculum.

Intern morale paralleled staff morale in December. Site visitors counted 23 interns in attendance on one day. They also observed six intern fights throughout the first week of its visit. In one class two women were observed literally tearing each other's hair out. LEA officials were aware of most of these difficulties. They chose, however, to give the new administration the opportunity to respond to these problems before attempting to intervene.

From December to May 1980

DOL and NIE formally authorized a program extension in December 1979 for all sites, through September 1980. (The demonstration was originally scheduled to end December 1979.) The monies, however, were not delivered to the sites until April, due to interagency rivalry. This is discussed later in detail. The fourth cohort entered the program in January 1980. RMC maintained telephone contact but did not visit the site until late April-early May 1980. Serious program problems were evidenced and verbalized during the site visit. The most serious problems involved program management. These problems were recognized by interns and reflected in their behavior, e.g., low attendance, fighting, etc. DOL-NIE funds were sent to the sites during April, representing one of the few positive events of this period. (The lack of funds for four months was a contributing factor to the low administrative and staff morale.) This period is described in detail in the April-May 1980 site visit description.

April-May 1980 Site Visit

Many steps were taken by administration and staff to improve program conditions by the next site visit in May. Overall, however, the staff and intern climate declined. The instructional department had developed two new courses that had been adopted by a local school system. In addition, the math curriculum had been recommended for use in a foreign country that needed to serve similar students.

Instructors commented that their basic purpose was to prepare interns for the world of work. One instructor explained, "there is an appropriate way to dress and behave at work; it's like wearing two suits, one at home and one at work." This same instructor continued: "first we train them to act how to behave. We train them to act and then to listen and then how to work on something for more than a few minutes. We have to train interns in these ways and in the process we teach them basic values and morals. Second we educate them in some of the basic skills, but this is a higher level. This can only be done if you identify with them and genuinely care about them. I manifest this by telling them 'this is what I demand' and they know I care."

The administration had made a serious attempt to upgrade the staff. Many staff members had been replaced with more academically qualified individuals. One local official and several staff members suggested, however, that the vacancies were filled with the wrong type of person. One of the older staff members phrased the problem in the following manner:

> The staff may be better qualified now from an academic point of view, but they just don't care about the interns. It's just a job for most of them. You need people in the program that are dedicated, that really care.... It's good to improve the quality of the staff but you need both if it's going to work.

One of the new instructors working with the interns initiated a student newspaper as part of her journalism class. The first weekly was published in May. It produced an esprit de corps among interns that was comparable to CIP-is-HIP days.

Another well received introduction into the program was the "scared straight program." Interns that had had brushes with the law were selected to visit a local prison. The program's aim is to scare students into "going straight" by "telling them like it is" about prison life. Interns are left with the prisoners. They are treated as if they are entering the prison. For example, one intern's jewelry was stolen, another had his sneakers stolen (the items were retrieved after the session). In addition, the prisoners describe in graphic detail the realities of prison life e.g., prisoner bureaucracies, homosexual rape, gang rape, murder, dope, servitude, and so on. Most interns report being convinced by these "one time only" sessions. One student, after having described the experiences, said the experience had convinced him "that prison is no place to be."

> I'm never goin' near there again.... If there's any place I never want to be that's it.... They took my sneakers and a friend of mine, they took his chain. I had to get it back through my uncle he's up there. (Friend) had to get it back through the guard. I'm gettin' myself a job. I don't need that, they're -- crazy up there.

LEA coordination had improved primarily as a result of the working relations between the new teachers and the local schools. Many counselors and teachers in neighboring schools were still unclear about the goals and purpose of the (CIP) program. One counselor queried whether a student that had pointed a gun at one of their (local school) teachers was appropriate for referral. In addition, few members of the community had a clear idea about the purpose of the program, according to interns, staff, and a few businessmen in the community. Directors of other alternative high schools commented that they were hesitant to refer students to the CIP because some are turned away (as a function of the treatment-control design).

The major complaint of over half the staff concerned program management. A few members of the staff were upset about the manner in which employees were notified of changes in rank. For example, an endeared member of the staff applied three times for a promotion. Each time he was notified with a form letter simply stating who was appointed to the position. The last time it occurred, he was personally insulted and left for another job. In another instance individuals were summarily fired after openly complaining about the management. In a number of cases the administrative action was appropriate; however, they were perceived by staff as the "measures of an insecure, threatened administrator." Half of the staff complained that "the program was being run by intimidation." One counselor said, "I can't say anything, without fear of losing my job." Another staff member explained half of the problem (as he perceived it) in a brief encounter:

> You know, we were told not to talk to you about the problems, but its getting desperate, we've got to tell somebody.... We're told to respect the chain of command but he (the director) doesn't. He fired a new counselor without even

> askin' _____ (the counseling supervisor). He reprimanded _____ (career developer) for speaking her mind at a staff meeting.... He's clearing out the old staff you can see it. Weren't you surprised, you come here and there's only a few of us left. His problem is he's afraid to ask questions. Instead of admitting he just doesn't know, he bluffs his way through. That's half the problem right there.... They advanced him too quickly, he doesn't know how to do his own job, never mind everyone elses. He's got to learn how to work with people. I would say he's just got no communication skills.

A new staff member (a former director in a similar program) concurred with the previous informant and continued:

> You need someone with a strong educational background in administration.... He's unfamiliar with bargaining with them [the local educational agencies]. You need someone on top to set the tone that this is a school, you know; and its got to be appealing. They've [interns] got to see that someone cares. Most of the staff (and I'm no better half of the time) just don't care anymore. Its just a job right now, and this routine, somethin's got to be done about it. Teachers in the public school, they get summer off. What is this? We work with some of the most difficult kids. Don't get me wrong, I love 'em, [but] we are expected to work all summer too.... You can't take it, you just burn out, you know. You've got to have time to re-group, to get away and plan, to get new ideas to be able to come back day after day.

A clear indicator of staff morale was the newspaper opened to the classified section each morning on over half of the staff members desks--with professional jobs circled in ink. A few months preceeding the May visit, staff and administration were "at each other's throats." One of the remaining staff members of the "old regime" had a long history of disagreements with the director. She shared her concerns about management with the evaluator and was summarily dismissed a few weeks later. She believes, along with a few of her colleagues, that she was fired as a result of discussing this matter with the evaluator. This staff member was at odds with administration as much as any other party; however, she tried to "reconcile our differences since we have to work together." She elaborated:

> I was trying to be real. I told him it was the way he communicated, not what he had to say. I told him that being a Mexican he had to be sensitive to that fact as long as he's workin' with Blacks.... You just can't be dealin' with Black folk that way, talkin' down to them, tellin' what to do all the time.... Tellin' 'em do it or you're fired.... You must try a little give and take, and things might go smoother you know.

The director was "personally hurt" by this communication. He interpreted it as a form of insurrection on behalf of bigoted staff members. The director brought the matter directly to the attention of the local OIC. The local officials came down to the CIP and told the staff if they couldn't work with a Mexican that they could "pick up their pink slips" and immediately "begin walking." Staff members complained about the local's tactics as well as the CIP administration's behavior. They were extremely upset about not being given a chance "to tell their side of the story." A staff member more removed from the center of activity than most suggested that the administration's course of action may have unintentionally undermined the program director's authority: "it demonstrated to the staff that he (the director) could not handle the problem himself and had to resort to outside help or even worse, [that] the locals didn't trust him to handle it himself."

Many of the staff members interviewed were also "disenchanted with the actions of [the local OIC]" in general. Several staff members complained about the tendency of the local OIC to treat the CIP as a training program, rather than as an educational institution. One of the most poignant examples involved shifting CIP personnel (two instructors) to different positions in the larger organization (OIC) two weeks before the end of an academic term. This occurred at a time when interns were completing their papers and preparing for their final examinations. The moves were made to improve the local OIC and were made without any awareness of the deleterious effects they would have on program operations. Such awareness would be axiomatic, however, to an organization or individual with an educational background.

These problems, among others, were recognized by the interns and evidenced in their weekly newspaper. One editorial complained of grade inflation at the CIP. In response, the administration established committees to investigate the charges and improve academic standards. The first editorial demonstrated intern concerns about respect, code of conduct, tardiness, personal problems, and communication gaps that are linked to organizational and administrative difficulties.

> We, the students of CIP, have the right to the respect of the staff, in the consideration that we give them the same. Respect isn't the main attraction it's the amount of respect we get. Take for instance the Student Code of Conduct, it prohibits foul language but still yet the staff members are using foul language, students too, but we need a staff model to give us an example. The Student Code of Conduct also states that everybody must be on time for class but still yet I see staff members coming late everyday. The personal problems should be kept at home not taken out on the students. That leads to a communication gap and a very unpleasant atmosphere. Which I don't think is right for the students nor the teachers so what I'm basically saying is, don't expect us to be perfect if you aren't.
>
> Don't get the wrong impression, we here at CIP have a great staff, very understanding and helpful to our careers and personal problems. (Site A CIP Weekly Journal, Vol. 1, No. 1, April 29, 1980.)

Another event that demonstrates the nature of administrative problems and communication difficulties at the site involved the handling of the staff dress code. The new instructional supervisor had a military background. The supervisor attempted to "shape up" staff appearance--for the benefit of visitors and as a model for interns. One staff member explained, "there was a point when they (instructors and counselors) were coming in with wrinkled clothes and their hair wasn't even combed like they just fell out of bed." The supervisor required ties as part of the new dress code for male staff members. The staff did not object to the tie per se, they objected to the manner in which this new directive was communicated. According to one staff member the supervisor said, "you're not professionals if you don't wear ties." Staff members suggested alternative means would have been more productive and more positively received, e.g., the tie would make the professionally trained staff appear professional or the tie would serve as a compliment to the role model they portray for interns, etc. The staff members involved in the discussion were insulted and less than anxious to cooperate with the supervisor on other unrelated matters.

Finally, an analysis of the physical setting provides some insights as to the underlying administrative problems including isolation and lack of trust. The director's office is located in the far end of the building. It is routinely locked during the day. Inside the office the desks of the two top administrators are blocked from sight by large partitions that were installed since the previous site visit. Similarly, the secretary's desk had been moved from its original position in the center of the room to the door and finally to another room--another physical manifestation of the lack of trust in the office. The significance of these physical manifestations was confirmed by a series of informal interviews with the individuals involved.

From May to August 1980

Summer session drew heavily on students from the public high school that were eager to earn extra credits to graduate during the summer without charge. RMC visited the site for the last time August 1980. This site visit description summarizes many of the site's problems encountered over the last year and briefly addresses a few prospects for the future of the program.

August 1980 Site Visit

Staff morale had declined even more since the May visit. A number of local OIC and CIP administrative acts were principally responsible. In addition, "too many of the _____ (Site A) CIP staff came with a traditional view of education vis-à-vis alternative education," according to one local OIC executive.

The constant threat of dismissal and the atmosphere of intimidation previously present in the local OIC had come to pervade the CIP, according to several OIC and CIP staff members. Individuals reported fear of being "written up" for inappropriate activity, e.g., disagreeing with program policies or speaking cordially with evaluators. A few staff members suggested that they were consistently required to prove their loyalty to the local OIC. A local OIC executive explained how "it [loyalty] was the concern" at the local OIC. The local OIC maintained a punitive attitude towards CIP, according to CIP staff members. CIP staff received this response to their procedural complaints: "We hear that there are 350 unemployed teachers out there waiting to have your job."

The high staff turnover rate was a product of the prevailing atmosphere, according to both OIC and CIP staff members. The last director had resigned, to the delight of the majority of staff members. His leaving was due in part to his own career aspirations and in part to local OIC dissatisfaction with his performance. His departure meant that all of the administrative positions in the program had been vacated during the last nine months. The counseling supervisor's position had been open for three months and the former incumbent was battling her dismissal before the Equal Opportunities Commission. Other staff also expressed grave concern over the way personnel files were "papered" to support what they felt were arbitrary dismissals.

The entire counseling and instructional staffs--with the exception of one individual in the counseling department--had been replaced (at least once) since program start-up. This high turnover rate necessarily had a negative effect on program operations, e.g., lack of continuity with interns, problems with follow-up; and ignorance of rules, regulations, and programmatic procedures. At the time of RMC's final site visit, the problem appeared to be worsening.

In addition, staff had never been screened in accordance with program guidelines. The entire staff is credentialed; however, many lack the dedication or philosophical orientation required to work in the program. For example, there are two instructors that have openly expressed their dissatisfaction with minority youths. One instructor said "she wouldn't let her daughter go out with a Black boy," according to a staff member. Interns understandably refused to sign up for her class. The assignment of this instructor to teach a Black literature course generated additional turmoil in the program. Another staff member suggested eliminating CCS from the curriculum after the demonstration funding ended. There was no discussion regarding how the absence of this component would affect the program. The plan was to replace it with a "more useful or relevant course." This suggestion signified a lack of understanding regarding the pivotal role of CCS to the program, and the career-oriented nature of the course itself.

The acting director was formerly the director of Site B. He is now occupying a position at the local OIC at Site A. One of his tasks is to oversee the CIP; however, his primary position and responsibilities take precedence. CIP staff already complain about the fact that he is an acting director: "We only see him in the building say an hour a day." The failure to hire a permanent director is related to the uncertainty of future funding. The local OIC executive director explained that if no funds were forthcoming he would close the program.

The acting director described the site based on his experience at Site B:

> Staff here just don't have the proper attitudes. Many say it won't work.... The two significant problems here are: number one, there is very poor teamsmanship and they [the staff] see it [the CIP] as a stepping stone [to the local OIC].... The idea of the program is weak. It has to be rejuvenated.

He also explained that a reduction in staff in the near future, e.g., layoffs, would be geared towards phasing the program down to a level consistent with its funding. He emphasized that it was not an indication that the local OIC was attempting to "phase out" the program. OIC/A explained staff cuts after the site visit in the following manner:

> The Office of Youth Programs (DOL) has given us verbal commitment to continue funding the programs between October 1980 and September 1981 at 50 to 60 percent of our current operating budget. This is as long as we serve 140 kids at each site throughout the whole year. Fifty to 60 percent funding means that all sites will have to make cuts in staff. Some will reduce staff time, such as part-time employment. Others will operate on a nine month schedule and the summer session will be run by a skeletal crew. We are still committed to an educationally sound program. Our plan is to bridge the gap between our demonstration funding and the monies coming from the Youth Bill, if passed. Then we will return to full operation and expenses.

Instructors complained that the counseling department was overstaffed while they were overworked. In fact, a few instructors had already received their layoff notices. Counselors and career developers were observed working on the development of community linkages; however, they had not drawn up a systematic inventory of Hands-On opportunities. Counselors maintained contact with some of the interns in the program, however, contact was infrequent and brief in duration. Furthermore, members of the counseling staff were observed engaging in non-program related activities throughout each afternoon.

At the end of the summer session, the students attending the program were predominately local high school students. There were two terms, each consisting of six weeks of instruction offering one credit per term. Forty-eight percent of the program enrollees were local high school students in the first term and approximately 80 percent were local high school students by the beginning of the second term. This altered the nature of the program and the intern population significantly. Major program components were held in abeyance during the summer session, e.g., disposition conferences, home visits, Hands-On assignments, and most counseling activities. In addition, instructors commented about the high motivation level of the local high school students in contrast to the interns. Interns and local high school students were observed working at their own pace and receiving individualized attention as needed.

At the time of this site visit, the staff, interns, and Hands-On providers expressed varying perceptions of the Hands-On component of the program. Their descriptions rarely matched the intent of the program model. One provider did not understand the meaning of the term "Hands-On." In addition, this individual's policy was not to allow students on the floor until they had completed their high school education. Graduates usually required prompting when asked about this component. A review of graduates' folders indicated that the experience consisted of one- to three-day visits to employers or educational institutions. A new career developer described the Hands-On in the following manner:

> Hands-On can last for ten minutes to two days. Usually my Hands-On last about half a day.... [An example of a Hands-On would be when] one girl spoke to a legal secretary for three or four hours. Another went to a college and asked how to fill out financial aid forms.

All of these descriptions provide evidence that the Hands-On component of the program was no longer being implemented, although earlier visits had noted satisfactory Hands-On placements.

Linkages with the community were still poorly developed. One instructor explained how many "parents are opposed [to the program] because they heard this is a school for delinquents...." One of the LEA officials viewed the program as marginally successful in comparison with similar programs in the city. In addition, a Hands-On provider that had served five interns according to graduate files was unaware of the supervisory responsibility he was supposed to fulfill as part of the component. The local OIC reported its concern that the control group seriously damaged its role and reputation as a service organization. The local OIC also complained about the lack of contact with OIC/A regarding future funding. The author believes this lack of communication was a product of rivalry between the local OIC and OIC/A.

Both staff and local OIC officials have attributed the problems experienced by Site A to an inadequate "sense of purpose and ownership." Many staff members pointed to the local OIC orientation to the program as the single most important reason for the poor staff attitudes. One explained that the CIP was a "dumping ground" for the local OIC until "good jobs" were available. Another complained of the "training program" orientation of the local OIC as opposed to a "much needed educational orientation." A third staff member discussed the problems encountered when the local OIC transferred two instructors during finals to serve another component of the local OIC "without any regard for the interns." Other staff members focused on the problem of the program itself, e.g., problems of management, lack of clear objectives, and a lack of pride. One instructor explained the problems of the program in the following manner:

> We are providing services but we don't know what student we are trying to produce. We need more interaction with parents, more accountability with students, clearly identified goals. We need to have some criteria for relation so that

students don't feel that anybody who walks from the street can come here, so that some pride can develop. We have some students who are constantly in violation of our codes. This demoralizes the program and hurts our credibility.

Site B Narrative

The subcontract agreement between OIC/A and the Site B OIC was signed on the 15th of December. Three-fourths of the staff were recruited, oriented, and trained during that same week. The facility was modified to prepare for operations in January.

NIE set a 26 April 1978 deadline for the sites to obtain a school board resolution. It was extended to 3 May 1978, 25 May 1978, and finally to 17 June 1978. The program finally obtained the resolution that enabled it to award credit on 9 July 1978. Local education agency politics and the fact that school system leadership was in the process of transition from the "lame duck" to the newly elected administration was responsible for the delay in obtaining the resolution. A small number of first cohort interns were tested in January; however, they did not enter the program until 19 April 1978. The site experienced difficulties in recruiting students due to inaccurate feeder school records, underestimation of the difficulty of the task, community reaction to the program, community reaction to the evaluation design, and uncertain funding. In fact, the second cohort, originally scheduled for intake in September 1978 was delayed approximately one month and was finally admitted despite the fact that not enough students had been recruited to form a control group. In addition to recruitment problems listed above, site staff described intern attrition between testing and notification that they had been accepted as a major factor in their failure to meet their quotas. RMC subsequently modified its evaluation procedures so as to provide immediate feedback to applicants regarding their acceptance and to enable the site to initiate staggered intake procedure.

Second cohort orientation was held 16 October 1978. The first evaluation site visit was made late October-early November and is described below.

October-November 1978 Site Visit

The program climate at Site B reflected many of the characteristics of the CIP model. Staff members were, on the whole, dedicated to the CIP approach and to helping interns. The positive attitudes of the staff were reflected in a pervasive concern for improving the program. Staff members freely expressed their enthusiasm about working in the CIP and their high hopes for its success.

Individualized pacing and personal attention were evident in each classroom. Interns were observed enthusiastically participating in role playing, brainstorming, and problem-solving activities in CCS classes. Instruction was varied in practically all reading, language arts, math, social studies and elective classes and included the use of didactics, lecturing, small group instruction, and individual assignments. A science instructor had not yet been found. As a result, this course was taught by a group of other instructors (including the director) on a temporary basis. Teaching was primarily of the traditional whole-group variety.

The staff perceived the director as a leader with "strong management" skills able to make decisions on their requests regarding program operation (even though they may have disagreed with some of his decisions). LEA politics did not allow him to recruit potential interns from the immediate area. He had to exercise great skill in dealing with parents in the community who threatened to boycott the program. The staff were aware of the difficulties he encountered and respected his ability to "juggle so calmly on a tightwire." Interns, in small groups, often joked about the director, characterizing him as a dictator, but these same interns were observed frequenting his "open door" office regularly throughout the day on their own initiative to talk or just say "hi." Interns were also seen in and out of the middle management offices--for official and unofficial personal reasons.

During a program disco, outside crashers from a local school came in and "tried to rip off some typewriters." The interns pointed the crashers out to the career counseling supervisor without prompting or hesitation. These actions demonstrated intern loyalty toward the program. When an instructor's wallet was stolen, the interns found the culprit who had transferred back to the feeder high school and convinced her to return the wallet and apologize.

The gangs in the area tried to keep interns from attending the program. The director reported:

> They were ready to beat [an intern] up. They hung around here for awhile. For about two weeks. We were helping this guy go through all kinds of places. Passing through the church door, to the other side of the street.

Another example of the obstacles gangs erected for interns concerned "turf" problems. The same director explained his solution to the problem.

> We have street guards, the street guards have to bring these kids to the corner and they have to cross quickly in order to come to this side. The Mighty _____ live on _____ and _____; [it's] their territory and in order for anybody to come here on the _____ bus, they get off on _____ and _____, they have to cross _____ [their turf].

Staff members' interactions with interns reflected the positive climate that had been attained in Site B. They took an active role in helping the interns with serious problems in their personal lives which might otherwise have interfered with their studies. One intern discussed how the director and the career counseling supervisor had helped him in the past.

> Mr. _____, (director) he's an alright man. He's understanding, you know...some of us think he's a real pissed-off man, you know. Excuse my French. Some of us say he's like that but I can say for myself he's alright because he helped me out of a number of predicaments I was in myself. Like a young man that used to be attending this school [CIP] he was givin' me some hassles. Mr. _____ sat down and me and the gentleman we talked it out instead of actually--avoided a fight or more dangerous. It was on. He had snatched a medallion of mine and it was gold. My grandmother had just bought it for me and I had bought the chain so that pissed me off. He was up here looking for me. I was looking for him. Gun gun, bullet bullet.
>
> He was down. Mr. _____ (counseling supervisor) he arranged with _____ (the other young man), he asked [him] like a man to come up and face me. They sat us down and asked us not to have no violence. We talked. They said talk is a way of communicating among yourself if you have the speakage. If you don't have that speakage then there is such a thing called sign language of course and you can use that as a way of communication. And to touch, that's more of a way of sayin' "he's alright with me." We got along with that.

The concern of the counselors was also expressed through discussions with interns.

> Mr. _____ (the counselor) he's an on man. He's real little...for a little man I didn't expect so much out of him. I had certain family problems that would bother me and he told me there were ways you can get around this from a sit-down with your mother. He says, "you are twenty years old and you still out here, you got your mind goin' in circles. You don't quite know what you want to do yet an' still you got the power within you, because we can just look

> at you and see the progression you makin' on your reading tests and stuff."

Interns were also held accountable for meeting behavioral norms regarding dress; for instance, interns were sent home for wearing tennis shoes or hats in school. Periodically interns would test the policy by wearing their sneakers because "they want to be told to take them off--they want the attention." Those just seeking attention, testing the policy, were recognizable because they usually had their regular shoes in their lockers. Interns were also held accountable for absences or tardiness and getting assignments in on time. The manner in which the enforcement was carried out reflected caring and concern, but also firmness. Interns' reactions to staff members' rule enforcement showed acceptance and understanding. For instance, concerning the dress code, one intern remarked:

> I think they are right you know. It's a hassle but you know somebody got to go on a job interview. They're not going to go to work and get that job wearing sneakers and no scarf on their head..

Counselors sometimes had interns sign contracts in order to impress on them their responsibilities. Staff members on all levels were responsive to the interns' needs. Interns could be observed visiting and talking with the director on a regular basis. The janitor was also concerned about interns:

> I talk with the kids. They respect me and they don't dirty the floor up too bad.... But I tell them, "you get this education unless you want to be doin' like me" and they listen, most of 'em, they listen.

Site B experienced some temporary strain between the old interns and the new interns.

> The old students they did have a little conflict about us.... Some of the older students [first cohort] that were here already figured probably they wouldn't get the attention they got...but they showed us like, hey, what things we supposed to do when we get here because they weren't gonna stay here all the time.... They know they ain't gonna be here forever, they gonna have to go sooner or later. So since they were the first interns here and we comin' in as

> the second interns, they just cutting down the heavier ground, the light grass.

One of the strongest indications of the interns' positive feelings about the CIP in Site B was found in the manner in which they characterize the site.

> We are all together here as one body and all one group. We all is friends together. We're mostly like family here... It's like our own little community here you know.

The same intern remarked on one consequence of the CIP's small size.

> If I have a conflict with my sister she come out and she tell me blah, blah, blah, blah, and well I say "if you don't understand what I'm sayin' I'm sorry" you know because it doesn't hurt to say sorry unless you in the right. In [the public high school] I wouldn't of had to say sorry to nobody. There's too many of them in there to say sorry. [At CIP] either you gonna see them somewhere in the hallway or in class. One of these days they're gonna be in your class, if they're not in your class you're gonna meet them in the lunchroom, meet them at the meetings or the seminars or somethin'.

The interns also perceived the sincerity of their instructors, both as instructors and as human beings.

> Before they give us the packets they go through the course of research, researching what they're doin'...and then they hand it to us and if anything is wrong they know it's wrong. They showin' us that teachers can make mistakes. Cause they showin' us they're more human than just robots. That's what makes this system of this school more flexible.

Most frequently, interns spoke about the CIP in terms of its contrast to their former schools, which they have described as cesspools. Thirty to forty students in a class sitting on the desks, "cutting up" in class, mugging teachers in the classrooms and stairwells, the smell of marijuana permeating the hallways, guards in the corridors, and identification cards and passes to go into the building and from one part of the building to another are typical of their former schools. The major newspaper in the area reported that over a hundred unemployed teachers preferred unemployment to teaching in these schools, citing physical danger as the primary reason. Most students coming from these schools complained bitterly about their treatment in a former high school:

> I had 21 credits but [the high school] said I only had 17, according to the computer that they had. The grades they put down. So that messed me around.
>
> The worst thing is your friends comes up to you when you're gettin' up to go to class and says "Hey man, ya wanta get high." What are ya gonna do? So you go with them and you start cutting the classes and the next thing I knew I wasn't in school no more. I'd come to school every morning, but I wouldn't go into the building. I'd just be out there smokin' that herb and hangin' out.

Interns internalized the CIP's world-of-work norms about attendance, dress, and other issues. An ironic demonstration of this occurred when a group of interns protested vehemently about a counselor who was coming to work wearing a scarf on her head. The interns had already internalized the negative value associated with this "taboo" behavior and "came down" on the counselor for breaking the rules. Additional manifestations of the interns' positive feelings about the CIP included: a high rate of attendance in school and at school functions such as dances; existence of a functioning student council; the ease interns displayed in talking and joking with the staff; the absence of graffiti on the walls; the absence of profanity in the building; the absence of smoking or loitering in the halls; and the courtesy and politeness demonstrated by interns toward staff members and other interns.

Establishing this supportive climate was not a simple task given the community environment. As a result, however, the interns expressed a strong affiliation with the program and the staff recognized and addressed the interns' need to receive "attention that some of them just aren't getting from home." The supportive attitudes expressed toward the interns ran through all levels of the program. One secretary remarked:

> Sometimes you have to shoo them away, back to their classes...they'll just keep talkin' and playing with things, you know, that they're not supposed to. Not because they're bad. They're good kids, young adults.... They just want the attention, they want somebody to show them, you know, that they care.

From November to February

The third cohort classes began 31 January 1979. Counselors, instructors, supervisors, and interns assisted in the recruitment effort. The large number of interns entering the program necessitated program expansion into a second facility. The two-building arrangement led to difficulties briefly discussed in the March site visit description.

March 1979 Site Visit

The staff climate remained positive. Minor hostilities and personality clashes were observed, but they did not significantly affect the program operation. The director was often referred to as a dictatorial figure by interns and a few staff members, but his ability to run the program was respected by a majority of the staff. Attendance was good, turnover low, and staff members continued to be supportive of the interns.

The intern climate was extremely positive during the early months of the demonstration. Interns were enthusiastic about learning and supportive of other interns. They rarely resolved differences through altercations.

This situation was temporarily interrupted when the third cohort entered the program. The school required expansion to accommodate the new interns. A second building was secured; however it was a separate building and provided interns with the opportunity to cut classes or roam in the streets while crossing over from one building to the other. Much of this behavior was reduced by an administrative "crackdown" involving strict enforcement of existing rules. Since that time, intern climate has improved considerably but has not risen to the levels observed in the early months of program operation. This may reflect more realistic expectations on the part of the interns, however, rather than lower morale. The overall climate at Site B continued to be a supportive, caring, and productive.

From March to December 1979

The period between March and the December 1979 site visit was marked by a series of break-ins, initial recruitment of the fourth cohort, and tremendous uncertainty regarding program extension beyond 1979. In fact, a number of staff members left the program. There were, however, no other significant events.

December 1979 Site Visit

The December 1979 site visit, occurring as it did just before Christmas vacation, was uneventful. The program continued to operate in an exemplary manner and, aside from continued concern about future funding, the climate was positive. Intern punctuality, however, was cited as a problem by staff and was noted by the evaluators. Individualized instruction was observed, involving the use of packets. In addition, various techniques such as role playing were noted.

A CCS class was also observed. CCS typically uses values clarification techniques to enable interns to explore and refine their values. An instructor will often run through a number of questions until one "catches their interest," as illustrated below:

T: This is a value judgment you have to say what you would have done in the situation. A man cheats on his income tax every year. This man goes to a neighbor's party and brags that he cheats on his income tax. The neighbor reports him to the IRS. How do you feel about that?

S1: I would get him back.

S2: I tell you what. I feel that the man is in the wrong from the beginning for cheating. The number two wrong (is) for pronouncing it all around. 'Cause if he's been cheating he should keep it to himself.

T: There's nothing wrong with him cheating as long as he is keeping it to himself?

S2: Yeah.

T: Everyone feels the same way?

S3: Well not everybody. I'm not agreeing. Its not the neighbor's business 'cause he (the neighbor) might be doin' somethin' he don't want him (the bragger) to tell.

T: Alright, let's go on to the next one. An elementary school teacher is very, very strict about students running up and down the hall. Yet every time the teacher gets a break she runs into the lounge to have a cigarette.

S1: She's a cigarette freak. She's addicted to cigarettes.

T: The fact that she's tellin' people you shouldn't run in the hall. First, should she or shouldn't she?

S2: No. First she should be settin' an example. She is the teacher now.

S3: First of all, she is wrong. Second of all, she's a hypocrite for running when she's tellin' them not to run.

T: OK. Everybody hear what _____ said? How many people agree with that?

S4: I don't. 'Cause it don't have nothin' to do with the class.

T: OK. Every time you see her she's running back to the conference lounge going to smoke a cigarette. Yet, she tells you not to run up and down the halls. How would you feel?

S5: I wouldn't tell her about it.

S2: She should know better than that.

T: OK. She's doin' something that she's tellin' you not to do.

Topics of interest to interns often "spill over" into the hallways between classes as the following discussion illustrates:

[End of classroom discussion about President Nixon]

S1: I was going to disagree with _____ about President Nixon havin' the power. I don't think he had it. I think that maybe his cabinet rode before him.

S2: I saw President Nixon on David Frost. I don't know if he has always been like that but he sounded destroyed.

S3: I don't think Nixon was the head man. I believe he was involved.

T: If you have a staff, if you have people working under you, isn't it your responsibility to know what those people are doing?

S3: Oh yeah, but that's what I'm sayin' now. I know that he was involved. He was down. He was the backer. These four men were following his orders.

S4: He [the night guard that arrested the Watergate burglars] was doin' his job.

T: Last I heard he lost his job.

[Bell rings and discussion continues in the hallways]

S3: I thought he was a really powerful man. I thought he was really intelligent. He had to be smart to sit in office and control it the way he did and he did 'cause he came out on top anyway the people look at it. It's a shame but he did. He was intelligent to sit in his office and scheme all this together and get his body to work with them, because they worked with him. Very few people was against him. Everybody was down for what he was doin'.

S2: I feel [that the night guard] was quite right [for arresting the Watergate burglars], because...if it wasn't for that brother bustin' him, doin' his job as he supposed to do, Nixon would have gotten away with the whole thing.

S3: Nixon would have controlled it. He would have gotten over really bigger than he did.

S4: Bein' that the guard was under his [the President's] supervision and he knew that the President wasn't wrong, he shouldn't have said nothin' because it would have started the whole scandel from the beginning.

S3: If he knew to tell on Nixon he should of knew in his mind he was going to lose out too. Nixon wasn't going to be the President sittin' in office and know one day he can get caught and not have the man that tell on him freed completely. That should have been common sense and if he should of told he should of kept it really confidential that it was him that told. He shouldn't of let it be known. He shouldn't of spoke out as much as he did.

S4: He spoke out for one reason. He figured he was going to get to a higher space. You know, captain of security of the whole world or something like that.

S2: Justice ain't right. It's not right. They say they get the same punishment as we do but they don't.

S3: They [government officials] know about federal prison. The federal prison is like livin' in a hotel. So they walk around like everybody else. They got pools and recreation 'cause they are state people. They the people that got to be protected, as opposed to those that live in the city.

S2: It all boils down to every man has to do somethin' wrong in his life. Every man is entitled to a mistake.

S3: But in the office of the President? He took the highest seat and he shamed it. He should have set a good example. Which he didn't. So he should suffer the consequences just as his subordinates did.

S2: But he's still human. He's still a person.

Teacher in hallway: You ought to become lawyers.

S3: I want to get into politics. You know, I'm very serious about becomin' a politician.

Counselors complained that recruitment, scheduling, and orientation tasks had precluded the scheduling of home visits or Hands-On activities during the month of November. (Orientation sessions had been held for fourth-cohort interns throughout the recruitment period to keep them involved and interested in the program. They were also allowed to attend classes for the same reason although the official start date for the cohort was not until February.)

From December to March

Site B, like the other sites, received a nine-month contract extension in January. No invoices, however, were forthcoming until April.

Early in February, the fourth-cohort interns were formally admitted to the program. This cohort marked the first time this site was able to recruit from the feeder school in the community where it was located. A certified science teacher was hired, also a first in the program's history.

By the time of the March 1980 site visit, break-ins had become a serious problem at Site B. In addition, the director had made public his decision to take a new position. The importance of dynamic leadership to the program was proven by this event.

March 1980 Site Visit

The site had experienced numerous break-ins since its inception. During the March visit, however, the frequency of the break-ins in and around the site had reached quite a high level. An average of one break-in had been recorded every week for the preceding month. During the visit, the site was again broken into, with papers strewn about and desks rifled. The staff identified this act as the behavior of vandals outside the program--possibly terminated interns seeking revenge against the program. The author's rental car was broken into. A suitcase, a briefcase, and the car's battery were stolen.

Neighbors in the community identified the burglars and helped the author establish contact with them. After an unsuccessful attempt at extortion, the burglars were arrested and prosecuted. None of the stolen goods were recovered. The CIP staff and interns expressed their concern about the incident. One intern said: "I'm sorry this had to happen to you of all people, David. It just makes us sick to have to see this type of thing happen to our friends."

This experience compounded the distress staff felt at that time. It did, however, provide the author with a better understanding of the community. In addition, the author was able to identify a continuum of young adults in the community ranging from the calcified criminal or "hoodlum" in the street to interns having had only minor brushes with the law. These groups know each other, but they do not interact unless necessary. The "toughest" interns are often the most passive members of gangs. It is important to remember that most interns have had difficulties in school and with their families, but they are not hardened criminals. There are interns on the fringes of the program, however, who could be considered to fall into this category.

The climate of fear imposed on the CIP about this time was further compounded by the slashing of one staff member's tires, the smashing of another's windshield, and the theft of yet another's hubcaps. The staffs' personal dedication to the program was evidenced by their determination to continue working under these circumstances. The site has repeatedly requested the local OIC to provide a security system to prevent these routine intrusions and thefts. The local OIC has been concerned about the problem; however, no alarm system or security guard has been provided to the site.

As is often the case, this series of calamities appeared to intensify the commitment of both staff and interns. No significant friction could be observed among staff, among interns, or between staff and interns.

Structural changes in the CIP improved communications between the counseling and instructional departments. The former career developer was promoted to fill the vacated position of counseling supervisor. This individual had worked extremely well with both instructors and counselors. Instruction continued to be individualized. Packets were observed in over half of all classes. The remaining instructors explained that they were either inappropriate for the given lesson plan or insufficient for specific students who had "graduated" to the use of textbooks. Discussion of the rash of burglaries in the CIP and in the community dominated many classes; however, most instructors used the discussions to their advantage by using these cases to illustrate larger legal and moral dilemmas.

This site's reputation for excellence was bringing large numbers of visitors to the program, including a visit from the Ministry of Australian Education. As mentioned earlier, the site had received an official White House commendation from the Assistant to the President for Domestic Affairs and Policy. The award was received gratefully by program personnel and boosted staff morale before the rash of break-ins. The award, however, had varying effects on the other sites. One was openly jealous, another was "intimidated." The third site warmly congratulated Site B. Even in the case of the positive reactions, however, the effect of the award was to temporarily break down the informal telephone link between the sites.

During this site visit, the director at Site B made public his decision to take a new position where he could develop additional skills and "test a few theories." His decision to pursue "the next step" in his career dominated staff conversations. The staff were fearful of the turmoil that would inevitably be associated with changes in the administration. The director explained:

> You see David, the personalities are no longer held in check. When the director, or any administrator leaves, there is a power struggle. The place can fall apart. Three or four resignations have already been placed on my desk. This one in particular seeks to avoid being placed under _____'s supervision. _____ is always complaining about this or that, that _____ is a manipulator, he has informal control of his supervisor and the others don't like it. Both of them must be held in check. My team of counselors are thinking of quitting. I know this one well. _____ is excellent but she has to hear it. The _____ teacher is tops and innovative. She gets high attendance but she took herself out of the running for the supervisor's position because she doesn't want to deal with all the complaining.

The directorship was filled on an interim basis until a permanent individual could be identified. The person selected for this role has extensive experience in this area and is highly qualified for the job. The only drawback to his placement was that he was temporary and the staff perceived him as a temporary or interim director.

From March to May 1980

Only a few weeks passed before the next visit to Site B. During that interval, the departure of the former director and adjustments to the new, interim director were the focus of most thoughts and activities. It was a very disorganized and disruptive time.

May 1980 Site Visit

The change in leadership at Site B represented a test case for the importance of a dynamic personality and strong leader in the operation of the program. The replacement of the former director with an extremely capable but temporary leader proved to be most significant. The author met the janitor upon entering the site, exchanged greetings, and asked "how things were going." His reply was not enthusiastic and in fact, negative, in contrast to his usual response: "See for yourself, its back to the same ol' same ol'." This was the first sign of significant problems at this site since its inception. Observations and interviews confirmed a deterioration in staff and intern morale as well as in overall program operation. There were few interns present in class, many were looking for summer jobs. Those interns present informed the author that they had sporadic attendance patterns. This was confirmed by consulting their instructors' attendance records. In addition, staff attendance was sporadic or irregular. Staff members explained:

> What do you expect. We don't know whats going to happen. We don't even know if the place is going to be funded next year. But he's [the director] temporary and they [the interns] know it so there are no sanctions.... You can't blame them, some are just looking for jobs. Most of us, you know, mostly fear 'who's coming next.' We didn't entirely know how good he [the former director] really was. We knew he was good but, you know, only when he's gone do you begin to really appreciate him. We need a leader. Everyone knows he's [the interim director] a good man, he knows what to do but he wants to go back to his old job. There's nothing wrong with that, its just that everybody knows he's temporary so the interns don't care and don't think we care and there's no one to control the staff.

The staff and interns repeatedly pointed to the importance of the "presence of authority" in the program when explaining such problems as: lowered attendance, inconsistent enforcement of intern rules and regulations, regarding dress code, tardiness, absences, behavior problems, and so on; problems with the community; and lower staff-intern morale. Many of the checks and balances enforced inside and outside the program were temporarily abandoned when the former director vacated his position. For example, one staff member complained bitterly of her treatment by a colleague who now informally supervises her work. The former director explained how that staff member's power (based on seniority) was always held in check while he was present--by "keeping her (the colleague) busy." Other staff members envisioned experiencing similar situations in the near future and were subsequently considering employment outside the program.

The former director also explained how "knowledge of his program and all the actors in it" was critical to successful management of the program. He derived information informally from staff and interns to "know what's going on" in the program. For example, he would informally chat with staff members about staff relations, intern patterns of behavior, and personal matters in the resource center or the local lunch room while "brown bagging it." Similarly, he would tap the channel of information on the intern level by informally "chatting" with popular and deviant interns. Reinforcements were also offered for information, e.g., leniency regarding specific intern behavior, dinner with a staff member, and often simply "good will." In addition, special arrangements with gangs were made to "leave CIP alone." These informal patterns of management or control had not been reinstated with the result that the operational efficiency and morale of program participants was lowered.

The shift in management had easily observable effects on program operations; however, the program continued to operate. In fact, records were being updated and reorganized. A complete list of all interns and their status in the program was being compiled. The supervisors were observed working very closely to fill the void created by this change in management. Most of the interns present were working conscientiously on their assignments. All program components were in operation, although at a lower rate of efficiency.

From May to August

Little information was received from Site B between May and RMC's final site visit in August 1980. Several key staff members departed, and the impending end of the demonstration period (30 September 1980) was making itself felt in terms of staff insecurity. Summer is never the best time for CIP operations but this summer was worse than others.

Morale among the remaining staff members was higher than might have been expected. One event that contributed to this unexpected state of affairs was that retroactive salary increases had been granted. More important, however, was the fact that most of the staff believed that funding would be found and that the program would continue. These and other topics are discussed in the following site visit report.

August 1980 Site Visit

Program organization and staff morale were stabilized compared to the last visit. The interim director still expected to return to his former position on a full time basis as soon as a satisfactory replacement was identified, and staff continued to view him as a temporary replacement. Excessive staff absences, however, ceased. Intern absence and tardiness, on the other hand, remained high. The latter problem was primarily attributable to the fact that there was only one week left before vacation.

Program morale was affected by a recent break-in. Thieves sawed through a floor into the program safe and made off with nearly all the typewriters and audio-visual equipment as well as petty cash, supplies, and materials. Staff members were depressed by the "boldness" of the culprits and the lack of security. Interns also displayed concern for the problem; however, most interns agreed with the attitude of one of their numbers who said, "it's nothing new." One of the most significant positive events boosting staff morale involved payment of retroactive salary increases. One instructor explained: "It's nice when you have faith in the program and its promises that you'll get yours and then it actually comes through."

Staff were observed enthusiastically preparing for the last set of field trips before the end of the summer session. In an attempt to improve attendance, there have been five field trips in the last two months of summer session. Core classes were held throughout the summer; however, program records evidence poor to sporadic attendance--ranging from 30 to 50 percent. Most of the staff agreed that the summer program should be radically modified in the future for the following reasons: poor attendance, staff "burn out," and "just being realistic." None of the instructors suggested abolishing the summer session. Instead, suggestions such as work study programs were made "so as not to lose contact" with the interns over the summer.

Instructors continued to use small groups and individualized instruction. Counselors complained about the workload. One counselor explained, "with these new demands imposed by [the local school system] we've had to introduce new courses for the intern and guess who's got to test them in addition to our regular caseload. It's too much. I'm not sure what we're going to do when school begins again." Administration explained that this behavior was due primarily to budgeting restrictions and the inability to hire additional personnel. The pattern of assigning counselors instructional duties was itself a part of the former director's policy of economizing and combatting complacency by not allowing individuals time to become bored.

CCS classes were cancelled to allow more time for reading and math courses. Counselors focused their time on preparation activities required for the fall admissions. Subsequently, little time was spent in individual or group counseling sessions. Two interns were enthusiastic about their Hands-On placement. A career developer indicated, however, that "punctuality remains a problem" for most Hands-On placements. There was a shift in focus of the disposition conferences. The conferences were held "as needed" or when an intern was having difficulty in the program rather than on a fixed schedule. In addition, intern parents were invited to sessions when appropriate.

Staff members that either were "ready to move on" or highly concerned about the new personnel structure departed. Administrative staff expressed confidence in filling all vacancies--including the full-time director's position--by the beginning of fall session. The rest of the staff were not aware of any information regarding a time line to fill vacant positions.

Site B was more confident about future funding than any of the other sites. This confidence was based on the following activities and assurances: the local OIC offered its financial support, the Commissioner of the State Department of Employment supported the program and was expected to continue its support, DOL offered 50 percent matching funds, and a 2.4 million dollar proposal had been submitted to the CETA prime sponsor to disseminate the program into two other locations.

Site C Narrative

Site C signed a subcontract agreement with OIC/A in December 1977. The first cohort entered the program on 23 February 1978--one day after the staff had moved into the building. The LEA was not referring students to the program at that time. The cohort, therefore, consisted entirely of dropouts without transcripts, a situation that generated numerous diagnostic difficulties. Although the LEA had promised its support, pressures from the teachers' union caused it to renege. An extended period of negotiation followed and a satisfactory agreement was finally reached in July. The negotiation period was very stressful, however, with OIC/A threatening contract termination if a school board resolution was not obtained. Deadlines were established and extended as tension mounted. RMC's first site visit followed enrollment of the second cohort (1 October). This period is briefly described in the October 1978 site visit description.

October 1978 Site Visit

Site C had difficulty replicating the CIP climate. Staff members lost much of their initial enthusiasm. They attributed this in part to the delays in negotiations with the school board and union. There was also evidence of antagonism and general divisiveness involving various staff members and administration.

Instruction was conducted primarily in a traditional manner, with lecturing and large group instruction. Learning packets and individual diagnosis, as well as small group and individualized instruction, were observed periodically. A few classes were observed in which interns worked exclusively with learning packets and at their own pace. The packets had been modified to eliminate inappropriate content or had been developed by Site C staff members. Instructors who used the packets exclusively expressed the opinion that their interns were not taking their learning seriously. In a few classes, texts and workbooks were used to supplement the packets. With few exceptions, however, the packets were merely supplements to traditional teaching methods. Role playing was also observed in a few instances.

The CCS classes were taught by teams of counselors, instructors, and career developers who used the learning packets. Role playing and problem solving activities related to "self-awareness and careers" were incorporated into CCS instruction. Interns were taken on a number of field trips related to careers and academics, (e.g., neighboring colleges and vocational schools) as well as to cultural enrichment. Resource persons visited the CCS classes to share information about their careers and the world of work.

From October to March

November, December, and January were devoted almost exclusively to recruitment efforts for the third cohort (February 1979). Staff members complained of the fluctuating treatment-control number requirements described earlier. In addition, they were concerned that recruitment activities dominated program operations.

Both the local OIC and OIC/A had become aware of the CIP director's inadequacy. For several months the OIC executive director took over the reins of the program. At the beginning of March, the original director was reinstated on a probationary basis.

February-March Site Visit

The second visit to Site C revealed a shift toward even more traditional classroom methods with much of the instruction being teacher-centered. Instructors complained about not being able to individualize because of the increased number of interns. The rooms on the top floor were crowded with approximately 10 interns in a class. This was due primarily to the small room size rather than intern numbers. In fact, several features of the building were not conducive to learning or to "satisfactory" staff communication according to a majority of staff members. Some teachers were located on the third floor and saw no one but interns throughout the day.

Only one instructor was still conducting individualized instruction using the packets. This instructor had previously used the packets exclusively, but had recently started supplementing them with other materials. He commented that some of his interns thought "this way of learning was boring," but that the content was good. Most of his interns, however, reported that the packets were interesting but that their content was inappropriate.

The individualized counseling program for the third cohort was not being implemented because of enormous growth in the program's student population. In addition, the demanding recruitment efforts that preceded intern admissions brought program operations to a "screeching halt." When recruitment was completed, additional time was borrowed from regular program activities to prepare for the incoming cohort. Plans were being made, however, to schedule interns for entry interviews with counselors and career developers.

Individualized counseling had taken place on a regular basis for the second cohort of interns until third-cohort recruitment pressures mounted. Counselors followed up on interns who were absent or late, and a number of social services were found for interns who needed them. After school jobs, for example, had been arranged for interns who needed to work.

The second visit also revealed a further drop in staff enthusiasm. They were dissatisfied with the CIP administration and the recent changes in staff roles. The majority felt a need for greater administrative autonomy for the program. (The local OIC was reluctant to "let go.") One group suggested that the director's lack of authority to hire and fire staff was the basis for many of the difficulties at the site. Another group referred to inability as the source of the administration's problems. A few members of the staff--both Black and white--expressed some discomfort working under the direction of a Black man. A former staff member, however, stated that "race issues have been used to obfuscate real inadequacies," and individuals were on "power trips." Another source reported that "the real issue" was that of "the inability of that one director to provide the direction the program needed at that time. Any member of the staff who thinks in terms of color, could not conceivably give our intern population what is needed to ensure success." Grievances about issues ranging from insufficient supplies to promised raises that never materialized were rarely addressed, according to several individuals. Resentment occasionally surfaced between the two LEA-employed instructors and the rest of the CIP staff regarding salary differences, fringe benefits, working hours, and attitudes. Inadequate communication among staff members made it extremely difficult for some individuals to function efficiently in their roles.

Staff members were fearful that the funding agency would terminate the program when recruitment goals were missed. Internal strife was rampant, as were tension and frustration among the staff. One instructor echoed the sentiments of the majority: "It's hard to wake up in the morning not knowing if your job will even be there from day to day." He added that the local OIC had placed pressure on staff to "shape up or ship out," leading to an atmosphere where "everyone is minding everyone else's business." In fact, many individuals were observed spending an inordinate amount of time recording voluminous notes about each other "to cover themselves." This procedure was referred to as "documentation" by the local OIC and was viewed as an important step in the termination of staff. There were also a few individuals "waiting in the wings," convinced of their ability to assume administrative roles in the program.

These problems had significant impact on the interns. Many interns were given class schedules that did not include the courses they required for graduation. Frustrated, two interns commented: "I'm bein' ripped off again. They're doin' the same thing to me as _____ (the high school)." A few instructors discouraged interns from pursuing their career interests without suggesting alternatives. One instructor acquired from the LEA commented: "It's irresponsible what they're doing, counseling them all to college. Take _____, she wanted to go into computer science. The first thing I say is what's her background. It takes math and she hasn't got it.... There are only three students in the whole school that are college material."

The lack of leadership and communication, and the fear and frustration among the staff were reflected in intern behavior. High absenteeism (approximately 40%), periodic altercations, derogatory graffiti on lavatory walls, smoking on the stairs and in the corridors, and other behaviors characteristic of the neighborhood high school were observed at the site.

Staff attitudes towards the goals of the CIP and their commitment to helping interns remained generally positive. On both of the first two site visits, staff demonstrated their dedication to treating interns as "whole persons," helping them attain their high school diplomas, and assisting them develop career awareness--"in spite of it all." Positive staff attitudes toward program goals and interns were illustrated by the following remarks:

> They [the interns] are what make it all worthwhile.
>
> I have a warm spot for them.
>
> Our interest in the interns is the common denominator.

The interns were keenly aware of many of the program's problems. However, they remained optimistic and offered significant insights into solving the kinds of problems they perceived.

> See they got to know who is serious about this and whoever is not. There are a lot of those that ain't serious about it. When you find the ones that are not serious about themselves you gotta get them out, cause they'll turn the crowd around. They'll turn the crowd around, you understand what I'm sayin'? Bullcracking around this, that, the the other thing. Interrupting the class. It really bothers the people that are really serious about bein' here.... That's what they be tryin' to get away from.... You see a friend everyday, he say "what's happening man, oh, man, oh, let's get high," and it sounds good. It sounds good. I think they should just sit down and talk about it and try to separate the immature students from the mature ones. Deal with it like that instead of dealin' with everybody as a whole. It might take a little more time, you know, and make them earn their salaries more, but it's supposed to be for the students' benefit.

The vast majority of interns, moreover, found the site to be "a lot better" than their old high school, regardless of the evident problems that existed.

> It's the only program you can deal with. Twenty-two weeks ain't much time. You just got to get down to it.
>
> They check out and see where your mind is at, you know. See where your head is at. Try to see where your head is at...and they give you a lotta advice. Everybody is interested, you know.... They can deal with people now better than the public schools, 'cause some of them have been where we going and where we are trying to get to. So they can deal with us better. It's alright.
>
> I think CIP is alright, you get more freedom.
>
> If this place was to close there is no way I'm tellin' you, ain't no way I'd be goin' back to the high school. I'd be just hangin' out again, gettin' back with _____ and _____ and gettin' back into my old ways, you know.
>
> It's a lot different. Less students in the class, you know.... They're not on your back. Work at your own pace and all this. It's a lot better.

From March to May

Events during March led, eventually, to the director's resignation at the end of the month. A more qualified although temporary replacement from the local OIC gave a brief boost to staff morale. Federal intervention, lack of enforcement of intern rules and regulations, and absence of program policies and procedures, however, continued to be strong demoralizing influences. The presence of inappropriate personnel (those who did not understand or embrace the CIP philosophy) also detracted from the program. The interim director took several steps to respond to these serious difficulties and was well received by staff. The actions he took were instrumental in getting the program back on track. The following site visit description discusses this in greater detail.

May 1979 Site Visit

RMC site visitors found the staff climate one of conflict, confusion, and disillusionment, yet significantly improved over the previous visit. Interpersonal communication problems were common. The morale of the staff, given a temporary boost by the interim director, lapsed again with his departure just prior to RMC's visit. The new permanent director had not been on board long enough for the staff to assess her abilities. They knew, however, that the interim director had been a constructive influence and were distressed that he had left. The new director appeared to command the respect of the staff but had serious problems to deal with. She had already begun to redirect the staff and improve program operations.

The program was significantly affected by federal intervention shortly after the new director took charge. At that time, according to various sources, the funding agency "went out looking for the worst site." Staff feared that a visit by the funding agency would determine whether the program was extended or terminated. The funding agency subsequently placed Site C in a kind of probationary status while a decision was made to extend the other sites for nine months. Being selected "as the worst site" further demoralized staff.

The intern climate at Site C was also depressed. Large numbers of interns were seen loitering in the halls during class hours. Altercations occurred periodically in and around the building, and many interns complained about the staff. One intern said she was really hurt when an instructor (one of the LEA instructors) said, "You don't have the stuff to make it in an accounting program in college" and continued to state that only three interns in the entire program were college material. A few interns complained about not receiving credits from CIP that they thought they had earned. This pattern, however, was slowly improving.

From May to December

The period between May and December was marked by uncertainty regarding program funding continuation. Site administrators were not notified until November that the program would be extended until September 1980. During this month the site signed agreements with two additional LEAs. In total there were five participating school districts and each had different graduation requirements. In addition, the site was required to meet the fourth-cohort enrollment quotas imposed on the other sites by 5 February 1980.

Despite these problems, the new director experienced considerable success in rejuvenating the program. She developed an accurate efficient procedure for analyzing the transcripts of incoming interns and for rostering them into the appropriate sequences of classes. In addition, she imposed rules of personal accountability on both staff and interns including, in the case of the interns, a method of recording attendance at all classes.

RMC made its fourth site visit in December 1979 and its fifth in April 1980. There were dramatic changes for the better during these visits that can be directly attributed to the new administration. The combination of funding problems, staff frustration, inappropriate administration and staff attitudes, and inappropriate interns, however, severely affected staff and intern morale. These events and interrelationships are described in detail in the April section of the December-April site visit descriptions.

December 1979 and April 1980 Site Visit

Dramatic changes for the better were evidenced during the December and April site visits. The two most important and visible changes were the new faculty and the clarification of roles and institution of procedures. The most significant problems involved recruitment, attendance, and implementation of program ethos.

The CIP was formerly in a three story building that lent itself to staff and intern disappearances. The new building was a major improvement. The director explained, "its all on one floor, you can keep an eye on everything more easily." An intern followed, "you don't have to run up those narrow stairways anymore...and nobody can hide like they used to on the third floor." The building was remodeled to create an environment more conducive to learning. Baffling put up between walls and ceiling separated each classroom. Discussions could be held in one classroom without bothering another. In addition, wiring for proper lighting, an alarm, and an intercom system were installed. Some classrooms and offices were carpeted.

Another noticeable improvement in the physical setting was that the resource center was on the same floor as the other rooms and thus more accessible. The resource center in the old building had been located in the basement and, according to the resource specialist, "no one ever came down there...now its supplied and they're using it. The English class uses it daily for its book reports and career reports. The only problem is things disappearing, we have to lock the door. But the books are circulating in and out. We even have an overdue list."

During the December visit staff members reported an improved program structure--as one staff member commented, "finally we have one." The same person explained that individuals "have finally been assigned clear roles." Another staff member agreed and linked these improvements to the new director. The majority of staff members openly expressed their satisfaction with the administration--as one staff member commented "they know and communicate the policies and procedures and that makes a big difference." Another commented, "_____ (the director) is receptive to informal communications from the staff.... [She is] also good on follow-up things. But most important [she] is intelligent, receptive, and has the ability to talk on the same level.... It makes a big difference having a director with an administrative background." The director and the instructional supervisor represented the core of the administrative decision-making team at the site. The career counseling supervisor's opinion was valued; however, it was regarded as secondary to the instructional supervisor's input.

The priority of recruitment efforts and low intern attendance had been central problems at the site in December. The entire counseling staff was obliged to recruit interns. Counselors complained that interns requiring their services in the program suffered as a result. One counselor felt she was functioning as record keepers rather than as professional counselors. Recruitment efforts were dampened by the reluctance of the local high school to refer sufficient numbers of potential dropouts or to allow on-campus recruitment. This problem occurred in spite of the fact that all five districts had formally committed themselves to assisting the program. Dissatisfaction with the school coordinator's efforts continued. During this visit the lists of actual dropouts were described as "grossly inaccurate" by the staff.

Poor attendance continued to be a serious problem at the site. Interns were not observed "hanging out" in the halls or outside the building; however, they were not in class either. The site claimed 65% attendance; however, the evaluator observed an average of only five interns per class. The discrepancy was due to the times information was recorded. The program recorded a 65% attendance figure by counting interns during the first period. The evaluators counted interns after second period. Interns would sign in and leave for the day. The director instituted a termination policy for high absentees to respond to the problem; i.e., interns absent for 14 days in an 11 week period were terminated. This policy was not well received by counselors who felt that the true spirit of the program was compromised by implementing such an inflexible policy.

The director had previously complained about lacking autonomy from the local OIC. At this juncture, she said "great strides have been made" in this regard. She now had greater control over the budget and other pragmatic concerns. She also had a more important role in the appointment of new staff. Her ultimate objective was to have complete control of the program budget and such matters as the hiring and firing of program personnel. The local OIC chairperson and one of the local school principals expressed their support and their approval of the "smooth operation of the program." Their verbal commitment was not, however, always followed by corresponding behavior, according to one reliable informant.

Two important and interrelated events affecting the site during the April visit were lack of funds and low staff morale. Interagency rivalry was responsible for a four month delay in sending money to the site. In the meantime, the site had to look for emergency local funding. This site's local OIC was not financially well endowed and was therefore unable to maintain an uninterrupted program operation. The last minute budget transfers required to meet the payroll lowered morale. Moreover, the absence of program funds led staff to question whether the program would continue to operate from week to week.

The inability to purchase supplies had the greatest effect on program operations. "At one point we couldn't even pay for toilet paper," commented one staff member. Instructors depended heavily on the use of paper to make the individualized packets for interns. The paper shortage interfered with the continuity of the curriculum. Lecturing replaced the packets for a short time; however, interns quickly grew bored with the method predominantly used in their old public high school. "Money trickled in [by the time of the April site visit] and saved the program," according to an administrator. "Staff were frustrated to the point of just giving up, and we were beginning to lose our interns." Interns were hanging around outside the building and downtown. The majority, however, had returned to the program by the time the April site visit was conducted. One of the interns explained his absence.

> There was nothing to do. They were out of packets. The teachers they tell you they don't have any more paper--what kind of school is that? I know it wasn't their fault but...I finished my work. I was all caught up. What was I supposed to do?

The low staff morale was partially due to the funding problem; however, there were other problems as well. One was that the only routine form of communication was informal. Instructors would drift back and forth between their classes and a back room near the counselors to find out what was going on. Instructors complained of the poor forward chains of communication among staff and between the instructors and staff. One instructor complained:

> They could at least send memos out when special events like field trips are going to take place. It ruins your plans.

Another complained about the rarity of instructional meetings. "We have only had maybe one or two instructional meetings that I can remember. We do have a general staff meeting every other Thursday for the professional staff but the first and the third turn into gripe sessions. The second and fourth [Thursday] are disposition conferences of students and those also turn into gripe sessions. There's no professional sharing ways of instituting and techniques that work. We feel isolated and the quality of instruction does suffer, the lack of professional communication has a detrimental effect on instructors. It could be better." A third instructor pointed to the instructional supervisor as the source of her frustration. "We need a master teacher, a supervisor, not a program manager.... I need someone to help me, to give me a few more ideas when I run into trouble--someone that has done it before. I know he's busy but I think we need someone to help us." The same individual began to explain some of the difficulties associated with the job.

> I've been working so hard you know. The feeder school gives credits for elementary work. Some have passed it, but they come to my course and no way. Its that social promotion, but they don't have the skills. The hardest part of my job is that they don't have the motivation, no skills, and are used to being promoted. My class eventually gets 80% correct but persuasion is the hardest thing I do. They are used to being promoted just for sitting there.... It would be nice for someone to pat me on the back. They don't realize sometimes that's more important than a raise.

A number of staff members echoed her sentiments. The majority, however, recognized the instructional supervisor's major accomplishments--improving both instruction and overall program operations. For example, he developed an instructional flow chart based on the mastery system. It was a curriculum that met state requirements and listed each step of a given course that an intern would have to complete to receive a passing grade. This system enabled the interns to know their status and what they had to do to complete their requirements. In addition, he has devised an attendance system that required interns to sign in for every class. This significantly reduced attendance problems at the site.

A few counselors recognized the improvements but one counselor hastened to explain that

> Before we didn't have any rules and regulations, now all we have is rules on top of rules. We spend all our time filling out forms and never get to do what we are trained to do--counsel students. And what's more, the instructional supervisor openly states "that if they [interns] are being counseled something's wrong because it takes away from class time. He doesn't understand these are special kids and sometimes if you can talk to them say for ten minutes in the morning, you can defuse it [the intern's problems]. They can go back to class and even finish the day without exploding. They [interns] are out for 14 days and they are terminated, no explanation or due process, just out. It is getting completely away from the design. We hammer them with rules and regulations. If they don't conform we say shape up or ship out.

> We give very little support to help them decide to stay in. Another problem is that we say we offer three courses in a particular field to graduate but we actually only have one and if there is a personality conflict between the intern and the instructor they are locked into it. We need flexibility versus the public school. The purpose has been lost.

Another counselor believed that morale was affected by this difference in values; however, he believed that the case was linked to the relationship with the OIC affiliate.

> The issue is, is this going to be a school or a training program. So far its being run like a training program. _____ (the local OIC) lacks the educational expertise, lacks an understanding of what could and should be offered. There is also a difference in the needs of the population--theirs are mostly adults, we have kids. They assume their trainees are mature, they expect them to put their personal problems aside and get to it. Our kids have personal problems that they can't put aside. We have drug and alcohol problems. They don't have kids that have their PO telling you you must attend or you will be violated. Once we decide we are a school and an alternative school, half the problem will be solved.

Other problems affecting staff morale were common to all the sites. One instructor discussed the various concerns of individual staff members during the visit.

> The pay scale, that's one of the main things. We need the same certification but we get paid a CBO scale rather than that of the high school.... We also need a planning period, some of us get one and others don't. Another problem is that discipline is too lax. But the biggest thing is the schedule. We work with more difficult kids for longer hours and have less vacation time and no summer vacation. We need a time to plan, to regenerate ourselves. You can't do it, you just get burned out. It's that simple.

One additional reason for low staff morale was that the attitudes of the instructional supervisor and several other instructors were at odds with the CIP philosophy. Certain members of management routinely referred to the interns as semi-trainable. One staff member was concerned with the administration's attitude toward "'trouble-makers'--they are too ready to terminate them." Administrators also commented on the need to "tone down" a new staff member who stated he believed interns need to be involved in decision making policy through the student council. A number of staff members said that this was indicitive of the administrative attempt to "quell revolutionary behavior." A few instructors conveyed the same impatience with interns as they described their negative feelings about the public school. (This impatience reflected a philosophical agreement with the traditional school approach and a disagreement with the CIP philosophy.) A situation illustrating this problem comes from one of the classes observed during the site visit.

> Most of the interns are busy reading their packets. One has his hat on and he is staring into space and the other has his hat on but is working slowly. The teacher asks the first intern what he's doing: "What are you doing, _____ [intern's name]? Read my lips. What are you doing? _____ if you're not going to do anything you may as well go down to the lounge. Are you gonna talk to me. [Silence] Alright you got a cut. Alright go ahead. Intern stays and instructor responds by correcting packets and taking attendance. Intern stands up, brushes a few papers off the table on his way out (in a mild form of defiance) and slams the door--but not too loudly.
>
> Ten minutes pass in which the instructor goes through his files and begins to walk around the class to see who needs help. A different intern who has been working steadily throughout the period is asked to read a passage. She reads the passage and the instructor asks her what it means. She does not respond. He asks a specific question. Silence. He responds "you understand two vowels of the eight words in the -- passage." The intern responds sharply, "Don't crack on me. I don't want to talk to you." The intern puts her work away. The instructor retreats to his desk and no one talks for the duration of the class.

Another instructor has daily loud arguments with interns during class. There is a poster on another instructor's door that says "brain surgery done here." This type of instructor-intern interplay does not occur when instructors are attuned to the CIP approach of treating the whole person.

Interactions of this type contribute to the chain of events that produces low staff morale, sporadic intern attendance, and an unhealthy climate.

Despite these staff and intern morale problems, the site was clearly on the rebound from its earlier state of disarray. One of the prominent interns at the site described the transition from the former to the present administration.

> The CIP is better than it used to be. It was in bad overall condition. Standing, drinking, starting fights, comin' in class late. The social [atmosphere] has changed greatly. No longer a hang out, there's more respect for the teachers. Old CIP didn't keep attendance. Sign in and counted--and out the back door. He received the same passing grade as the dedicated student. It was discouraging. I started doin' the same thing they were doin'. Discussed it with the director. The pressure was on then. They decided to install a card system. Fourteen days every 11 weeks equals a drop, which equals an F for the class.
>
> There are some serious problems left here. Class instruction is a lot better than before they was dishing out the work, but the intern is discouraged to ask questions. Some teachers really don't care.... [Instructors say] Do this work. Ask a question (and they respond) you should know this. Some teachers don't have talent or confidence. They should relate course to actual world [be] open to all questions.... They're really not. I read Leon Sullivan's Handbook, it says the program should straighten up the individual, focus on careers and personal problems and back to basics--they're not doing any of that sufficiently. More selecting is needed in hiring teachers. They should replace _____. She is a nice lady but she doesn't teach well--she practices favoritism. They should shape them all up. _____ teaches from the book. He doesn't make it clear, only absorbs the book and the facts and he lectures about it. He doesn't explain, doesn't make it understandable. _____ is another nice teacher but doesn't teach. Has the same method, book and memory. Just not talented enough to bring out of the book and

> explain situations. I just cannot relate to the teachers that much--don't understand them and their problems. If the teacher is authoritarian the student will feel inferior and therefore reluctant to discuss problems with instructors. The counselors are good but there's just no privacy. Too many people get to know about your problems.
>
> _____ is the best [instructional] supervisor since I was here. _____ (the old director) talked, but he would step over drunk students. _____ (the instructional supervisor) has a clever mind. _____ (the director) is not perfect but serious, dedicated, and cares, and tries. _____ (the director) is behind all these things [program improvements], but _____ (the instructional supervisor) enforces them.

This same intern explained what he understood to be the fundamental purpose of the program and how it should and should not be implemented.

> The purpose of the program is to teach the ability to cope with sophisticated work--the intellect and getting over in the job market. If you talk the dialect, the way you dress and talk slang you put impression unintelligent to the employer. They teach you to play the part so IBM may become second nature. Sometimes ten minutes a day on this is wrong way to learn it--to get a better job, make money, and to meet the needs of daily living--emotional needs. Interns feel defeated sometimes because they are unable to cope with the actual way teachers are--their background ideology is another world. Some interns are supercool, an inflated image. Recognition and respect through their clothes and their behavior is the only way they know how to express themselves--many teachers think they are just illiterate and ignorant. Sure they should not be talkin' slang and not boppin' and wearin' those loud suits. Teacher says to them, walk proper, and they come back with "say what." You can't expect the student to lose prepared or upbringing. It must be explained in a way not felt as threatening to the intern. Enough people say you're not normal in high school. What they offer is a tool to help their way become second nature versus conform to this way. The way its done has a lot to do with your

> opinion of yourself. The counselors explain what low expectations do. It is important to teach in a special way. You should read the story of these twins. One went to college and at 18 his IQ was 120, the other was poor, uneducated, but the same brain. His IQ at 18 was 75. 20% lower than the average. Exposure to the articulate really rubs off. Those on welfare and not in the best of condition, not educated, don't have the stimulation to build the intellect. We cannot do this alone, it has to take something special. You really need faith to make it work but much more you need dedication and talent to make it work. If they can put it together right it'll work the way it should.

At the conclusion of this visit, the principal of the primary feeder school commented:

> We are happy with what they are doing. _____ (the director) has done a fantastic job. It's a functioning alternative. There is a waiting list that testifies to its success.... We don't want to see this go down the drain.

From May to August 1980

Uncertainty about the CIP's future was one of the primary factors that led the director, the instructional supervisor, and the reading specialist to submit their resignations. Several junior staff members and two LEA-provided instructors left. The disruption caused by these departures was increased by continued uncertainty with respect to future funding. The August 1980 site visit report discusses this issue in depth.

August 1980 Site Visit

In all, 10 members of the CIP staff had departed by the August 1980 site visit. Although only three of those departing were key employees, the exodus was extremely disruptive. The reasons for the departures varied with the individual; however, the departure en masse was perceived as "a crew jumping ship." The director had discussed her reasons for departing months before actually vacating the position. Her primary reason was uncertainty about future funding for the program and, consequently, about her employment.

The local OIC had submitted approximately 20 proposals, the majority of which were requests for small amounts. Larger requests were directed to the Department of Education's Office of Community Education, the State Department of Labor, and the State Department of Child Welfare. OIC/A helped the local OIC identify possible sources of future funding. In addition, OIC/A requested matching funds from DOL to enable the sites to operate before any money came in from other sources. (The funds were to last for the year. The assumption was that the 50% required to operate the program after the first six months would be found by that time.)

The instructional supervisor also discussed his desire to secure employment elsewhere several months before leaving the program.

> I've done all I can really do without money for technical assistance and I know they [the local OIC] don't appreciate it. _____ (the director) asks them, 'well, what about _____ (the instructional supervisor)' and they don't answer. I asked about creating a program manager position and you know how that turned out. There is just no place to go and they aren't going to promote from within, they told us that clearly enough. So I've got to go before _____ (the director) leaves or I'll be left with this mess [uncertain funding] and I still won't be given the position of director or the pay.

His view that the local OIC did not promote from within was supported by a recent event at the site. Upon the departure of the instructional supervisor, the ranking member of the department was to be given the previously nonexistent title of instructional leader. Instead, she was appointed to the position of interim instructional supervisor. This "promotion" was considered insulting by many staff members. Others have complained of similar experiences.

The majority of staff members praised the director and instructional supervisor for their technical contribution to the operation of the program, e.g., establishment of rules and regulations. This management team, however, was considered separate from the rest of the staff. This we-they dichotomy (Leacock, 1975) was a consciously fostered relationship, according to the administration. It was done to "instill discipline among staff." Another administrative staff member's comments, however, suggest a different basis for the dichotomy. "Look what we have to deal with, some of them [staff members] are semi-trainable themselves--at best." This type of "aloofness" was openly discussed by the staff. One staff member complained about the lack of communication between the administration and the instructors. An administrator acknowledged having a "paternalistic" and "condescending" attitude towards staff. Interns suggested a somewhat different reason for the administrative "aloofness." "_____ is afraid of us. You can tell just walking down the hall. You can feel it." One staff member described the program's atmosphere as one of "distrust, disloyalty, and uncertainty." Many of the underlying strains and tensions resulted from the recent resignations. Staff ignored administrative directions routinely. One staff member explained: "Why should we listen to them now that they are going.... What can they do to us now." Staff and intern interviews, however, indicated a strong trust in the administrators' technical capabilities. At the same time, those interviewed had serious reservations regarding the administrators' commitment to them "as people" (rather than to the program in general). This concern over a lack of personal commitment was manifest in their reactions to some slides taken during an earlier site visit. They remained absolutely silent when slides of the administrators were shown but had teasing remarks to make about pictures of other staff members and interns. The OIC executive director's reaction to the intern silence was also revealing. She said, "Clearly their pause was a way of expressing their feelings of abandonment." The interns, however, indicated that they did not feel abandoned since they had never felt accepted in the first place.

Instructors continued to complain about lack of supervision and guidance from their supervisor. Instruction was individualized; however, it did not vary in method. Packets were used exclusively in almost all classes. There was minimal variation in teaching method, e.g., no role playing, films, and so on. Many intern complaints about the lack of variation in classroom instruction were recorded. They displayed their disinterest and boredom through lengthy periods of joking in class and by burying their heads in folded arms. Instructors were frequently heard exhorting interns to "get to work."

Counselors expressed a desire to have more time for counseling. One pointed out that:

> As good as these procedures are compared to the time when we didn't have any, they have come to consume us. We don't have any time for one-to-one counseling since the change. Part of that is because of his [the instructional supervisor's] attitude. It's just the same as I told you last time.... If we're doing any counseling we must be doing something wrong because we're taking them out of the classroom.

One counselor who was referred to as a "breath of fresh air" by a colleague was asked to relinquish his position because he was a "revolutionary." He attempted to resurrect the student council "so that they [interns] can take charge of their life while they're here." This type of dismissal was "demoralizing," according to one who described herself as "embittered." Another counselor lodged a complaint about the lack of privacy for counseling the few interns seen every week. There were no partitions or secluded areas for intimate or private conversations between counselor and intern. The majority of interns interviewed had little or nothing to say about the counseling department. The most typical comment about the department was: "Well, ah, I know they tell me what courses I have to take, that's about all." One prominent intern was extremely upset about what he believed was the routine mis-information communicated by the department regarding graduation requirements. He said, "I'd be out of here by now if they were to give me the credits I earned and if they'd have told me the right courses I needed, not those [a list of crossed out courses]. I'm not the only one, have you seen _____, and _____ and _____ yet. You ask them what happened to them." A few other interns complained of the same problem, but it was not widespread throughout the program. No explanation could be offered by the counseling department other than human error related to staff turnover.

Interns were generally satisfied with their Hands-On placements. Many of the new interns, however, were still uncertain what the term Hands-On meant. The only other problem identified by the old interns was the lack of coordination between the instructional and counseling staff. "I got this grade, you remember when we talked in _____ (instructor's class) and I had him write it down for me. So what happens, I get this grade on the report card [points at a B on his report card]. I had to go back to the instructor to get her to tell them what I got. They still didn't change it. So I went down there myself and showed them the grade. I think they're gonna fix it today, but I'm going to go back to check on them."

The program's relationship with the community was less than optimal. There had not been any systematic form of parent involvement or any Advisory Council meetings since June of 1979. The lack of Advisory Council meetings was directly related to poor relations with the LEAs. In June 1979 the Advisory Council threatened to cut the funding of the school liaison person in half unless he began working with the other school districts. The superintendent, in turn, threatened to sue the local OIC for breach of contract--since the terms of the local OIC-LEA contract only specified contact with one district. The Advisory Council supervisor resigned in August 1980 after disclosing this information because he believed the Council had been impotent.

Another community-relations problem is that local employers confuse interns with CETA employees and are reluctant to offer them assistance. The fact that the Hands-On activity consisted of a two week unpaid observation as compared with an 18 month subsidized employment experience points to the program's faulty communication to employers. The fact that CIP has developed a sizeable list of applicants for enrollment, however, attests to the existence of some community support.

Site D Narrative

The subcontractual agreement between OIC/A and the local OIC was signed on the 15th of December. Most of the staff were recruited and given an orientation to the program during the Christmas-New Year's vacation. The position of director, however, remained unfilled during most of the training period. One of the trainers was selected eventually to assume that position. The staff was almost completely assembled by early January 1978, and occupied a local OIC facility. The staff worked on developing the curriculum for four months with little additional guidance from OIC/A. Staff retrospectively reported that this period gave them "time to get on each others backs--because there weren't any interns." In mid-April, the CIP was relocated to a more suitable facility that was to remain its home throughout the demonstration period.

The local OIC executive director and the CIP director attempted during this period to secure a resolution with the LEA. The difficulty they had was attributed to poor planning and communications. The local school board official was first made aware of the program by a phone call in which the CIP simply announced their presence in the district. The local board official complained about not being approached earlier or asked to assist in the development of a curriculum to meet accreditation requirements. NIE's deadline for obtaining a school board resolution passed (26 April 1978) and OIC/A requested and received extensions. The local school board was sympathetic to the notion of the program and, despite earlier difficulties, played the major role in securing the resolution on 10 May 1978.

First cohort interns were tested on the 24th of May and received an orientation on 30 May and 1 June 1978. Classes began the following week. There were no control students and only 23 treatment students. A school system coordinator was hired on 19 June 1978. He was given access to three feeder schools. However, timing was bad because the schools were closing for summer vacation. Recruiting was obviously hampered by this situation but in mid July the second cohort was tested, 68 interns were enrolled, and classes began. Once again, there was no control group. In October, the CIP instituted 90 minute classes (rather than 50 minutes) to meet LEA requirements. RMC first visited the site in November and observed a highly devisive atmosphere pervading the entire program. In addition, the institution of 90 minute classes lowered staff and intern morale.

The third cohort was required to meet the "new numbers" finally agreed upon after much argument between the sponsor and managing agency, e.g., 90 treatment students and 55 control students. Failure to meet this requirement would result in termination of the site. Many serious problems arose, leading ultimately to OIC/A intervention in December. OIC/A responded both to program difficulties intensified by threats of termination and to the threats themselves.

OIC/A's intervention "turned the site around." The director and instructional supervisor were terminated, immediately improving staff morale. The school coordinator was informed that the CIP serves potential as well as actual dropouts. (His misconception regarding this issue, not surprisingly, had seriously handicapped his effectiveness as a recruiter.) Finally, the credit awarding policy was revamped, resulting in the return of 50 minute classes. OIC/A also launched a successful "media blitz" to attract interns for the third cohort and "turn staff attitudes around." This period is discussed in detail in the description of the November 1978 and February 1979 site visits.

November 1978 and February 1979 Site Visits

Site D has recovered from a debilitating political conflict within the program. The staff was divided into factions. Many felt the instructional supervisor was "vindictive" and "after the director's role." The director isolated herself from the staff, and the staff felt harassed and frustrated because they had no means of presenting their grievances. Discussing program problems with the OIC Executive Director or the CIP director was either considered a ploy to pit administrators against each other or was regarded as "not going through proper channels."

Because the situation disrupted program operations, the director and instructional supervisor were fired. Subsequently, a disagreement developed between OIC/A and the local OIC as to who would be the new director. The OIC/A-favored candidate was selected for the position, and the staff subsequently indicated their satisfaction with this choice. The change in the directorship produced a significant difference, according to all staff members. "It's like a great burden has been lifted from us all. We talk to each other now, have you noticed? [The acting instructional supervisor and the instructional staff] understand each other so therefore more things get done as opposed to not doing something to get back at somebody."

Communication problems were resolved largely as a result of the leadership changes. In the past, individuals from one faction would send a messenger to deliver a communication or they would not communicate at all. This severely affected the working relationships within the staff because "work just couldn't be done, it's as simple as that." This period also took its toll on staff morale and affected the interns. Attendance fell to 50% or less. Theft and discipline became problems.

Recovery from the earlier devisiveness was a very slow process. Interns were regularly reminded of the rules about attendance and tardiness, but uniform enforcement of the rules was lacking. The attendance rate, however, had risen to 70-75%. On the other hand, interns were observed regularly coming in a half hour late. Staff members were taking turns patrolling the halls to "get them back in class."

Classes continued to be small (15-20) and instruction individualized as was the case since Site D began operating. The attention interns were receiving at the time of the two site visits was highly individualized, and was characterized by independent study with teacher supervision and tutoring. Interns were observed working at a pace commensurate with their ability, though instructors specified minimum amounts of work to be completed in order to earn credits for the term. Group assignments and individual presentations were observed. Generally, most instruction was conducted on a one-to-one basis, with the instructor approaching individual students to find out how they were doing and what concepts or explanations remained unclear. At this time, limited use was made of other instructional strategies such as role playing and problem solving.

All instructors had borrowed the learning packet concept. They had made many of their own packets by selecting various descriptions or explanations from books and following them with sets of questions about the text. These materials were reproduced and given to each student. In addition to these materials, many instructors used textbooks selected from the lists approved by the LEA. Due to their limited numbers, books could only be used on-site; interns were rarely allowed to take them home.

The CCS was being taught using a team-teaching approach. Instructors relied heavily on OIC/A-developed learning packets and employed an eclectic approach that included independent reading, group discussion, oral presentation by both interns and outside speakers, and field trips to several firms and other places in the community. The CCS classes were large due to several staff positions remaining unfilled. There were about 35 interns in each of the four CCS sessions--but interns did not complain about the size of the classes.

The program had only one counselor and one career developer at the time of the second site visit. Earlier problems had influenced the decision of others to leave. In addition, there were many factory recruitment and training programs competing for counselors and offering higher salaries. The shortage of personnel made the process of individualized counseling very difficult, although several interns reported having received invaluable help from their counselors even during the most difficult time.

The only counselor employed at the time of RMC's second visit devoted most of her time to scheduling interns into classes. The career developer was obviously overburdened with a workload including teaching two CCS groups, developing community resources for forthcoming Hands-On experiences, and meeting interns' requests for part-time employment. Many interns complained about not being able to see their counselors and some took advantage of the problem by loitering or "cutting out." On the other hand, most found it possible to meet with their counselor when they "absolutely" needed help in academic, career, and/or personal areas.

Intern apparel was indicative of some of their values and attitudes. At Site D many of the new interns emulated role models from "blaxploitation" films such as Superfly. For instance, they wore wide-brimmed hats, trench coats, and flashy jewelry. As one intern phrased it "they got that syncopated walk down." A number of the older interns from the first and second cohorts, however, mimicked the behavior of the new interns to ridicule their behavior. The attitude toward the dress code was relaxed, bordering on total non-enforcement. A few staff members asked interns to remove their hats or combs from their hair, but the majority either did not notice or ignored the interns' appearance rather than using the situation to reinforce world-of-work values and behaviors. It was apparently hoped that as interns "grew into" the attitudes and behaviors expected in the program, they would internalize the program norms with respect to dress and other world-of-work behaviors.

A member of the clerical staff who displayed concern about the issue commented:

> You just have to keep reminding them about the hat situation. That's part of going to employment. You cannot go in with your hat on. That's where the career comes in 'cause you go into an interview with your hat on and they don't really want to talk to you 'cause the old rule, it was set up a long time ago.... It's really important 'cause some of those hats they wear here, if they were to wear them to an interview--big Barcellonies--you can't wear that to an interview...that's part of their personality. They tell us, "If I take this off, half of me is left." They don't realize it yet but that's the half of them that they're gonna have to leave behind.

Now, as one instructor commented:

> We are at the point where we are arguing about the same problems that all schools face--attendance, discipline, the hours, salary, and this cold building.

Staff members were young, dedicated to the program, and sympathetic to the problems of young people in the inner city. For several of them, however, the experience of working in the CIP was "a real eye opener."

> It was surprising--like the interns we're getting here. I expected high school dropouts to have learning problems and [to be] kinda

> slow; but [here it is] mainly the opposite. The young people that I've found for the most part probably just got bored or got into other things--'cause there are so many other things offered besides school. I just sit here and think if they would have had the proper chance they would never have been here in the first place because of the environment and the circumstances.

The environment the instructor referred to encompassed both the community at large and the public high schools specifically.

Their experience led some staff members to realize that the relationships and interactions they observed in the CIP and the community represented issues beyond the immediate context and supersede the success or failure of any particular program. Questions began to surface concerning "what's really happening in this country?" and "how can this state of affairs exist?" Staff members have begun to grapple with these problems. Individuals demoralized by the situation departed. Those who remained became more cynical but were no less dedicated to serving the interns. One instructor commented on how his experiences with the community had affected him and "changed his way of thinking."

> I said [in a previous conversation with another staff member, since departed] "How do you think this program is going to go?" and he said something that I had never quite heard like that before: "I'm not quite sure [society] wants it to go. Does society in general really want success in a program like this or do they want a stop-gap measure?" He doesn't work here anymore and that's the first time I heard it and it really got me thinking. And now as more and more programs come and go and the supposed monies flood into a metropolitan area like ours and then seeing how they disappear and never really reach the grass roots. I really started asking myself that question and I have come to doubt it very seriously...this whole lifestyle shouldn't be this way. If the proper chance is given, if this was truly a democracy, if success was really everyone's first goal for everyone, I don't see how anything like this should exist.... I find it the same kind of persecution as against the Jews, for example. I have not experienced it as much as my parents...[my mother's] parents were killed in the camps and she tells me about prejudice and I listen. I see it here and it's the same. It's just

> keeping one in one's place. It's like Abraham Lincoln never existed in a way, or anything was ever signed, because no one is picking cotton but there is still [major employers in the city] and it's almost exactly the same only they get wages, high wages in an inflationary environment. That is the same as if they were getting low wages.... I think this program is definitely a positive step. As far as the long run, it's such a feeble step. I never realized the vast scope of the problem, more and more, just look at the area the school is situated in for miles. It seems kind of hopeless.... I don't think people believe it or they see it and don't want to believe it and they're glad it's like that and that may be more of a majority than you think.

The high schools in the area were similar to public inner-city high schools throughout the country. Students dropped out for a variety of reasons--boredom, drugs, crime, pregnancy, family problems, and "the need to get a job." Interns were extremely critical of their former high schools. One staff member elaborated upon the problem:

> The public school system is not really designed for minorities because most of the things you hear about in history are Anglo-Saxon Protestant. They cannot identify with it. I'll do it 'cause it's here, but in its course of twelve years you have to get motivated to stay for twelve years. You have to see that there's something you're getting out of it. If you don't see that there's something you're getting out of it, you're gonna get out.

The interns were motivated in the CIP classrooms. They pointed to their personal relationships with their instructors as prime factors responsible for their motivation and participation in the program:

> I feel they are with you instead of against you because, in public school, really the teachers are not worried about the students--all they're worried about is whether they can pay the light bill or when they can get their car note paid up...and they don't give us as much attention as the teachers do here; not attention as far as babying you--I mean real help. Communication

> with the teachers--they seem to be very helpful. If you have any questions they'll go all-out to help you with those questions; but they won't give them to you; they let you find them out yourself.

The atmosphere experienced by interns was conducive to the establishment of immediate friendships. Both old and new interns commented on the ease with which they made friends at the CIP.

> The environment here I like better [than the high school]. Here it don't take long to make friends. For example, I just met him the day before yesterday and he bothers me constantly everyday. Think I knowed him for a year. But it's friendly around here.

New interns, however, were quick to complain of the lack of extracurricular activities available in the school to keep them interested. The old interns "came right back on them," however, and listed the types of activities they could become involved in "if they would just keep their ears open,"--CIP-is-HIP Committee, Student Council, basketball team, and the Financial Committee.

Many of the interns had already "experienced the negative parts of life--that's what they based their decision on coming here." Broken homes, alcoholism, drug abuse, gangs, and teenage pregnancy were not uncommon in the backgrounds of the interns. Some interns had been "school hopping" for years, transferring from one school to the next, trying to find places where they could fit in without getting "sucked into the wrong crowd." This point is especially worthy of emphasis since the existence of a sizeable group concerned with avoiding association with undesirable elements is not mentioned in the literature. They transfer or drop out because they do not want to be affected by the conventional high school setting, not because they are failing. These dropouts, in fact, are the successful rather than the unsuccessful products of the urban school setting.

Most of the interns at the site were ready for a change in their lives, as two interns characteristically expressed.

Intern 1: I can look back over the days when I was sitting around smokin' weed and everything. I used to be all lazy, brokedown, cool, you know, but it's not about bein' cool, it's about livin' and enjoyin' life.... It's not all about bein' deprived or anything. It's all about tryin' to get it and at your best. You can't expect someone to just give you somethin' for nothin'. You gotta put forth a little effort to try to make it better for you. I'm thinkin' about my future and the way I wanta raise my children and the way they should raise their children. I don't want them to grow up like I did--crime, you know, dope and all the rest of the ugly things that come with it.... It's all based on who you're influenced by.

Intern 2: 'Cause nobody wants to be a robber, nobody wants to be a dope pusher, nobody wants to be a leader of white slavery.... That's why I feel maybe I didn't have the right friends around me when I was a child, maybe that's why I did some of the things I did at my younger age--around 11, 12, and 13. Now I'm 17 years old and I'm proud of it because I can look back at all the things I had done while I was younger and say, 'well that was really stupid' or 'I shouldn't have done that,' but now it's all about makin' my future look better than, you know, my past.

Intern 1: I want to walk in the light myself 'cause I have been walkin' in darkness for a good long time. Now that I have seen the light whether it be within this school or within my church or whatever, I know my direction.

From February to May

The third cohort classes began 31 January 1979. The "numbers" were met. The majority of interns were recruited from the feeder schools and were potential dropouts. Many, however, were not suited to the program and would not have been recruited had the pressures to meet enrollment quotas been less compelling. Those who were unsuited either left or were terminated later in the year.

The entire CIP staff reported a positive shift in their attitudes and in the direction of the program by the second site visit. Staff morale steadily improved between February and May. The most important event contributing to the improvement of staff morale and subsequently of the program was the selection of a new director in March 1979. LEA officials also responded enthusiastically to her appointment, expressing confidence in her abilities.

May 1979 Site Visit

A formerly committed and enthusiastic staff became alienated and demoralized prior to the OIC/A intervention. By the time of RMC's third site visit in May 1979, they were again committed, cooperative, and well directed.

Intern climate at Site D paralleled the staff morale--with some time lag. During the first site visits, significant differences between "serious" and "immature" interns were observed; however, everyone appeared to "get along with one another." Interns made friends easily. Few rules were adhered to or enforced, but a warm and friendly rapport existed among interns and between interns and staff. A few instructors and counselors were worried about the "excessive leniency" concerning adherence to or enforcement of rules, e.g. wearing hats in the building, leaving school early, and so on. During this early period, a number of interns wore loud clothing and demonstrated a preoccupation with the old "gang" stories during leisurely conversations. The climate was accepting and friendly but it did not resemble the prototypical climate because it was not balanced--"it was caring but not firm." It is important, however, to emphasize that staff and intern adaptation to program rules is developmental--as one OIC/A official explained: individuals "just do not change overnight, rather it takes time for them to be CIPized."

This pattern suffered a serious setback immediately preceding and during the third-cohort recruitment crisis. The sites were threatened with termination if they could not enroll sufficient numbers of interns into the program within a prescribed period of time. Staff became disenchanted with the CIP administration and the local OIC as evidence accumulated that quotas were not going to be met, and staff absences or early departures were frequent. Interns interpreted this behavior as a form of not caring, a phenomenon similar to the first site's experience.

These problems were compounded by the lack of adequate heat in the building in the middle of winter. Interns had to be turned away from the building because it was simply too cold to hold classes. This and the (public school) winter vacation broke the continuity of attendance and lowered the morale of the intern body as a whole.

At about this time OIC/A intervened, replacing staff members, initiating a recruitment "blitz" through the media, and so on. The overall effect was positive--"it saved the program." In fact, Site D had waiting lists of potential interns at the time of this visit. On the other hand, OIC/A's dramatic intervention created confusion for the interns and had repercussions.

The subsequent enforcement of attendance and dress rules produced a marked change in the interns' attitudes and appearance. Only one or two interns continued to wear loud apparel characteristic of the "street culture." A related change was that older interns (second cohort interns), who were initially less serious about the program, began to defend it from the verbal insults of some of the new (third cohort) interns. In addition, these same older interns began to enforce the rules among themselves and with new interns. The level of intern enthusiasm was not as high as it was in the early months of operation, but the site climate as a whole was balanced. It was "caring and firm" simultaneously and, as a result, more closely approximated the climate in the Philadelphia prototype.

Classes were individualized. One of the CCS classes used a career education film to help prepare interns for job interviews--focusing on successful and unsuccessful interviewing strategies. The pros and cons of these models of behavior were discussed.

T: The job interview situation is a very critical part of the person I want to become or the career that I would like to have. So unless you can successfully deal with that job interview you might never get that career or become that person you want to become. It's something that you have to plan and practice, okay?

Now the white boy in that film. Let's make some value judgments. Did he have a good attitude or a bad attitude in your opinion?

S1: It was bad. He was tellin' some stories that wasn't true, you know, to get that job. Trying to make himself look like he was qualified.

T: Do you think that had something to do with his confidence or lack of confidence, that he had to prefabricate something to make up something?

S1: Yes.

T: The other young man wasn't assertive. Often times when you go for a job interview if you going to something that's going to be dealing with public relations or sales or something like that, they would want you to be very assertive and very aggressive. But you will have to, let us say, display those types of personality characteristics at the proper time. Actually he was displaying that aggressiveness at the improper time. It was the kind of job where you have to roll with the punches and be less assertive...feedback.

S2: The white guy had the best attitude. He just went about it the wrong way.

T: Oh, you think the white guy's attitude was alright?

S2: He went in there with the attitude that he was going to sell his self and he was confident in his self.

T: I got the opposite response from the other class. ...What about when he took the cigarette from the interviewer and he tried to act mid-town? Wasn't that kind of sloppy and raggedy?

S3: I would say no thank you.

T: But didn't it seem like he was kind of a neophyte, a neophyte with cigarettes, something he didn't usually do when he took a cigarette. Quite apparent wasn't it. He was taking a cigarette as if he was a pack-a-day smoker.

S3: He probably didn't even smoke.

T: Well, I think it's a good rule of thumb never to smoke in an interview unless the guy is a best friend of yours and it really ain't about an interview. It's just about going through the process. I wouldn't do that. I wouldn't chew gum. I would try to go as conservatively dressed as possible. Not with all that loud excuse the expression shit. Wild hats and platinum shoes.

S3: Like my man, he looked just like that.

T: Right, and that's why I'm tellin' you that 'cause I noticed it in here. They associate it with Superfly. Don't put your rolls in your hair that day guys, if you do that sort of thing. Don't have your hair done, don't go for a job with that processing.

This same instructor routinely emphasized the importance of proper training in his classroom lessons.

> Employers don't want to invest their money in a dud...that's why it's been so hard for Blacks 'cause they usually don't have the skills, 'cause when they go for skills training they usually don't have the skills right. They don't have the discipline usual, so they don't make it through. So the man can say, well, we let x number in but they couldn't make it. They just couldn't cut it. And I'm tellin you because I've lived it. Would you believe I was turned down for an electrician's apprenticeship. Now this was comin' out of high school. I had college prep situation. I had minored in electrical stuff. But my math skills were kind of sad.

This instructor was atypically "abrasive" in his manner, according to interns and staff. He had, however, the best intern attendance record of any CIP instructor. In addition, many interns respected him for his "brutal honesty" and his ability to prepare them for "the real world out there." An excerpt of a classroom discussion is presented below to demonstrate this instructor's ability to relate his personal experience to classroom lessons. In addition, his ability to detect intern attitudes through their body language is evidenced.

> I washed dishes my first two years off of New Jersey on Long Island, upstate New York. Poughkeepsie. Where those ski resorts are all up there. I did all that because I knew I was in a position of being overqualified for some jobs and not qualified fully for others, because I had not completed my degree, okay. But once you have that piece of paper, then that's a horse of another different color. They can't keep not looking at you, turn you down; 'cause you gotta be qualified for somethin' if this piece of paper says you are, you know.
>
> The college degree is like the high school diploma was 30 years ago. Actually you're in a state in this country, where the college degree really is high school and people better wake up and realize that. All you doing now is getting the skills to go to college. You're not educated, you know it. Long ways from it. For the most part everybody in this room is a functional illiterate. That's the truth. The truth may hurt you. You may get feelings all down in your stomach of anger but that's the way it is. I guess you are very frustrated and you meet with consternation often times with me 'cause I read you so well. You tell me all the answers...you say things with your eyes and your expression on your face. What you do with your hands. When someone is guilty usually in my class I can usually tell whether they did it or not. You tell me everything and then you get mad at me for knowin' it. So this is what [the film] was talkin' about, body language. So I got this film to show you some of the things that can happen in an interview situation even when you're qualified and even when you're not qualified. The interview is somethin' that you should deal with while you're in school. You should go to as many interviews as you can. When you come out of the interview take notes. When we talk about jobs or during orientation I

> told you your good points and your bad points. Things you might need to work on. And you can become a very good actor. You can sell yourself to anybody if you practice and to obtain the skill you must practice. That's half of the battle--the interview. The other half, as we discussed, is being qualified.

From May to December 1979

A staff retreat was held in August 1979 "to enhance communication and commitment of the CIP staff." Staff members argued with each other throughout the retreat; however, all agreed the retreat contributed to a more cohesive staff. Attendance was a significant problem during the summer session (34% in August). This problem was due primarily to the interns' summer employment schedule; their schedule was in conflict with CIP operations. In addition, interns plan vacations with their families during the summer. There were difficulties at the site regarding recruitment activities, LEA relations, intern retention, and staff retention, all due primarily to the uncertainty of future funding.

In September, OIC/A was notified verbally that additional funding would be forthcoming. At that time the sites were asked to recruit 90 and 75 youths respectively for treatment and control groups (figures that were ultimately revised to 90 and 55 respectively). Fourth-cohort testing began on the 23rd of October and intake occurred on the 5th of November. RMC visited the site in December 1979 and observed a further marked improvement in staff and intern morale at that time.

In December, an OIC/A-CIP conference was held in the Site D city. This conference was particularly effective in improving linkages between the program and the community. Inequitable salary scales and intern retention problems persisted at the site. These and other issues are discussed in the December site description which follows.

December 1979 Site Visit

Staff and intern morale were high in December. The new director had made a smooth adjustment to the program and was regarded as "a welcome gift" by staff. She was observed to have a personable management style, but could be firm with her staff when the situation required. For example, she did not hesitate to reprimand a staff member for maladaptive behavior. She was also observed to take an active interest in extra curricular program activities, e.g., the choir. It was apparent that the staff respected her and recognized her varied obligations; however, a few individuals complained of her frequent absences from the building. The new director was respected by the local school agency official as well. The director's plan of over-recruitment (attempting to recruit 200, rather than 100 interns into the program) had a positive effect on staff morale. The majority of staff members interviewed said they were "not worried about the numbers this time around." All of these individuals linked their sense of security to the over-recruitment procedure. The feeling that this approach would be successful was, in a large part, due to the direction of the new School Coordinator. He established explicit criteria and developed a procedure for identifying potential interns. In addition, he developed set procedures for contacting and testing potential interns. Announcements on the school public address system appeared to have produced the best results, whereas telephone calls worked poorly, and letters did not work at all. According to the School Coordinator, the most significant factors contributing to the successful recruitment included: (a) "organized and systematic plan for recruiting, excellent cooperation, input, and hard work from the recruitment teams;" (b) LEA cooperation; (c) "an office" or semi-permanent location "in the public school--not just in the halls;" (d) good timing of the recruitment (just after the student progress report for the last half of the first semester had been sent to students and parents); (e) "our six men in the school," and (f) peer group (intern) support or peer pressure. Major factors inhibiting recruitment were described as: (a) inadequate clerical help; (b) "lack of adequate communication (it was difficult for the recruitment teams to develop any kind of a time line because the 'cut-off' date was not known);" (c) "resistance of some CIP staff members to make a commitment for planning and participating in" (the recruitment process); and "lack of a long-term recruitment plan prior to the [December] plan."

An OIC/A Career Intern Program Conference was held in Detroit at the time of the December site visit. The staff believed that the conference gave them a "boost in credibility" with the educational community. One of the local school board officials confirmed this view with the following comment: "We consider OIC-CIP part of our public school system. They provide services which we cannot provide. Public school systems cannot reach all students. There is a need for alternative, community-based programs like CIP." Moreover, all staff members agreed that the conference would help ensure future funding from the sponsoring agencies. Their views were supported by school board officials, local universities, the governor's office, local clergy, the evaluators, and the sponsors at the conference.

Instruction continued to be individualized and infused with a career orientation. Extensive use of the learning packets was observed. Many of the packets, however, were drawn directly from chapters in text books. The interns were observed conscientiously completing the packets and asking questions about the materials. Interns appeared most active in classes with subjects anchored in some practical application. For example, over a quarter of the interns in one class were busy talking to each other or staring at the walls while theoretical content was being covered. In the same class, subject matter with practical relevance consistently drew the disinterested interns' attention to the topic throughout most of the period.

The counseling department remained "overworked" according to the counselors. All intern records were maintained; however, personal counseling "got the short end of the stick," according to one counselor. Personal counseling during this period was reportedly focused on "responsibility and priorities." One counselor explained, "they are not committed to working for themselves yet. They still come in with a negative self-image. The clothes, the walk, it's all a big defense mechanism for not thinking they can do anything else well. That's the reason they're here. Their attitude. It is my responsibility to let them know they can do things, they can be somebody. Together we generate what they need--guidelines." Unfortunately, due to time constraints some interns were lost, according to the career counseling supervisor. One intern had made a "dramatic turnaround" attitudinally. In addition, she had raised her grade average from non-passing to the honor roll. Then she became pregnant. She decided to drop out of CIP. Her counselor called her but was unable to convince her to return. He believed that a home visit "might have made the difference." A review of intern files evidenced a routine contact and follow-up on interns inside and outside the program. Interns indicated satisfaction with their Hands-On placements.

The new school coordinator significantly broadened the visibility of the program. As a local minister, he developed numerous contacts and used those contacts to recruit interns through their parents. He also interviewed interns on his television show, expanding the visibility of the program throughout the city. He is well respected and works well with the feeder schools' administrations. This individual also works well with the interns and has initiated a men's club in the program for civic-minded activities.

The only persistent problems involved salary and retention. Three instructors that left for other positions did so because they found "the salary unsatisfactory." Private schools and the LEA offered much higher salaries for the same position. Another problem was the low retention of interns in the program; only 25% of cohorts I and II were still in the program. This was due to the fact that the program was in significant turmoil. The program was not interesting enough for many interns. However, many of the terminations were positive, e.g., military, or reasons extrinsic to the program. Another factor related to the low retention rate was that there were inadequate selection and screening criteria for entrance to the program. This situation resulted from the extreme pressure the site was under to meet enrollment quotas.

Interns overall expressed a very positive attitude toward the operation of the program. Few complaints regarding staff behavior were raised. Many of the interns' attitudes were projected during the author's presentation of slides taken during the course of the previous visit. One slide of an instructor elicited the response

Einstein, another was Idi Amin, a third Ebony Queen. One of the custodians was called "the police" because he always broke up the few groups of interns loitering between classes and directed them to their class. Similar comments were elicited from slides of interns: Killer _____, Black Mafioso, Slick _____, Mr. Chessman and so on. These terms verified the author's perception of the participant roles in the program. Overall, the most important insight drawn from the participants' reaction to the slides, aside from program-dynamics, was the degree of familiarity displayed between staff and interns.

The interns were preoccupied, at this time, with the extensive development of school clubs and intern council elections. Clubs included chorus ensemble, newspaper, thinking man's games, cultural club, social club, yearbook, human relations, skating, and so on. The student council meeting was highly animated--campaign speeches, posters, and various political machinations were observed throughout the visit. One of the supervisors pointed out the difference she observed in the current president from his early days in the program. "He was the one _____ fought at the basketball game. He wanted to take over the CIP but _____ wasn't about to let him. Now he's president running for a second term. I guess he really did take over eventually, but what a difference from fists to this." Another staff member invited this individual over to her house for lunch with her husband and said "I laid the table out with silverware, napkins, and china, and served lunch..._____ sat down and told us during lunch that before this he had only known hamburgers for lunch. Then, he began asking me what each kind of silverware was used for. From then on we got along real well and look how he's turned out."

These activities--participation in school clubs, and campaign speeches by candidates--were held on Activity Day. Activity Day was instituted by the administration as a vehicle to promote higher attendance toward the end of the week. This has also provided a useful means of developing intern and staff solidarity or cohesion. Plans were also made on Activity Day for Christmas celebrations, however, the interns were quite apathetic in this area.

From January to March

January (1980) marked the beginning of the extension of the program. The monies, however, were not sent to the sites for four months. The reason for the delay in funds was interagency rivalry. The managing agency claimed that the sponsoring agency owed them $60,000 for work conducted the prior year. The sponsoring agency acknowledged the claim but they questioned the services rendered and did not plan to pay the managing agency. The managing agency, therefore, decided to hold on to the extension funds until the sponsoring agency paid their claim. This action had a negative effect on the program. Shortages of materials, concerns about meeting payroll, costs of loans at up to 22% interest, and an assortment of problems plagued the sites. Some of the staff turnover can be directly linked to the insecurity this activity generated in the program.

RMC visited the site again in March 1980 after funding agreements had been met by the managing agency. The vacant positions had been filled; however, various staff problems remained. Complaints about materials and staff "burn-out"--due to summer session--were registered. These concerns are discussed in detail in the March 1980 site visit description. The extension of the program was officially granted in April 1980 to extend program operations until September 30, 1980.

March 1980 Site Visit

The director had filled the four vacant staff positions that existed at the time of the December visit. The positions were filled with individuals equally or better qualified than their predecessors. The new staff brought the following types of experience to the program: college teaching, directorship of similar programs, working with court-remanded youth, and counseling at a life skills camp for the "disadvantaged."

Three-fourths of both the old and the new staff expressed satisfaction with the progress of the program. The remaining fourth, however, lodged a few complaints regarding administration and the instructional program. A few staff members complained about their lack of contact with the director. One counselor explained "what we need is a full-time administrator on site, not always out in the field." Most of the staff, however, explained that the director's role required extensive work outside the physical parameters of the program, e.g., local OIC, LEA, potential sponsors, community groups, and so on. Another staff member complained about his supervisor.

> It was childish. I wrote her a memo weeks ago requesting permission to attend a Career Counseling Seminar outside the CIP. I never received a response. I asked her about it a week before the seminar--no response. The day of the conference passed so I wrote her a memo saying I'm upset that no decision was made and the conference is over. She comes back, crumbles the memo in her hand and throws it at me saying, 'I won't be pushed around by any boy!' She's usually gone when _____ (the director) is gone. Also, this is typical. She sits on stuff to exercise power over the counselors. She feels threatened by the counselors. _____ (the supervisor) just talks with _____ she doesn't supervise.

The director was aware of this problem and reprimanded the supervisor by the end of the site visit. (The issue at this point is moot because the supervisor will be making a career change in the near future.)

Overall, the counseling department's morale was high as a result of the last successful recruitment. The recruitment drive brought organization, procedures, and cooperation among members of the counseling department. Individualized and group counseling was observed. A Human Potential Seminar was established to help interns develop a positive approach toward themselves. Counselors have been surprised by some of the findings of the seminar regarding intern values. One counselor discussed her experience and surprises.

> They're very moral. Many are anti-abortion. All of the men said they would drop out and get a job if their girlfriend became pregnant.... This is very much the opposite of the white middle class perspective of dropouts and minorities in particular....When we asked about key values the most common ones were love or loving. The number one response was loving someone. Happiness was defined as having someone to love me. We learned a lot from those kids. We try to get them to be responsible in class and work. You must be caring and firm with them. When they tell you 'I don't feel like it' I say let me tell you it's not about feeling like it, it's about responsibility.

The new instructors were upset with the lack of adequate materials and packaged information. One instructor complained, "They don't always let you know if there's enough paper for your next exam." Another instructor complained of the quality of the materials present: "All they have for us are the SRI and these packets; the packets are juvenile. The interest level is terrible. The reading level is okay."

A new instructor complained about the supply of materials, books, and paper. The older instructor explained that this is the normal reaction of new personnel "until they get used to the system and begin developing their own packets and their own style." Many of the old instructors stated that this freedom to develop their own style is what most attracted them to CIP. Classes throughout the program were individualized and individual style differences were observed. The only change in classroom instruction since the last visit was lessened control over idiosyncratic intern behavior. Radios were played for brief periods of time in two classes, loud discussion of personal matters and joking dominated one class. The majority of classes, however, were filled with interns conscientiously working on their packets--receiving individual attention from the instructor.

The complaints lodged by the old instructors were pragmatic. First and foremost on their minds were the "pay differential and vacation time." A few of the old instructors, having gained considerable experience, are beginning "to look around" for better paying positions and better conditions. The vacation schedule took precedence over the salary difference between CIP and LEA instructors. One "old" instructor explained:

> Sure the pay is different but I could live with it. It's the time. Teaching is exhausting. These kids particularly need constant attention to help them with their work. Two weeks vacation a year is not enough. We need a quarter off. We could rotate so the school would always be open. You just burn out. It would alleviate the pay differential.... We also think that summer quarter has little validity. It's the job [that takes precedence for the interns] over the summer.

The interns were not seriously affected by the staff transitions because they were absorbed in their own affairs. One was their upcoming basketball game--the Certified Independent Players. The second, more powerful stimulus, was a current political struggle. The old interns were busy defending their positions on the Intern Council from the "newcomers." The program population was at a turning point. The new interns represented the majority and had remained long enough to derive a sense of program ownership--similar to the old interns' sense of ownership. One week after the site visit the new interns secured the presidential position as well as other significant positions on the Council. One of the more popular "old" interns commented over the telephone "we haven't brought ourselves together as much as this since CIP-is-HIP day last month.

Finally, the first official parents group was established. They meet on the fourth week of every month from 1 to 2:30 p.m. Fourteen parents attended and actively participated in the CIP Parent Council, one week before the site visit. Parents received a tour of the building, a program overview, a description of the purpose of the Parent Council, and a date and time for the next meeting. The staff described a few areas where parental cooperation was particularly needed: intern attendance and punctuality, senior fund raising, field trips, activity day, recruitment, and linkage between the community and CIP. In addition, parents received a Parents' Bill of Rights, "Consumer Tips for Parents," Parent Homework Sheets, and a glossary of "educationese--the technical terminology and idioms of education." The group was enthusiastically received by the parents, according to intern, staff, and parent key informants. The counselors have found parent concern to be an "invaluable tool with which to apply pressure to intern behavior."

From May to August

RMC visited the site for the last time one week before the end of summer session, in August 1980. The most important issue raised by staff was the need to restructure the summer session The problem of teacher burnout was mentioned but not stressed. The focus of staff concern was on the need for teacher planning periods and the problem of poor attendance during the summer program. An interview with one of the graduates represented a powerful indicator of the program's success. This discussion and descriptions of the site in general are included in the August site visit description.

August 1980 Site Visit

The summer session was coming to a close. Graduation ceremonies were scheduled for the following week. Twenty to forty interns were present each day. The attendance dropped significantly at the beginning and end of the week. The reason cited for the low attendance included: interns had found jobs during summer, and it was the week before the close of the session. The only interns present were those who needed to fulfill graduation requirements--with the exception of three or four interns planning to graduate next June and were trying to earn additional credits during the summer. All program staff members were present throughout the visit. During a staff meeting one of the "old" instructors echoed the words of her colleagues when she said, "It's smooth sailing now." She said she remembered "the early days when [the LEA] wouldn't accept us and all the infighting and the numbers games. It was horrible. The only ones that stayed were those that needed a job." She also identified the staff retreat as the single most unifying force in the staff's development. A new staff member, however, explained after the meeting in private:

> Could you believe what we heard. I wasn't sure it was the same staff...[regarding] the retreat. That's what brought them together. It was my understanding that they bitched about it for weeks after and that's why no one wants to go on this next one.

This view was typical of the new staff's perspective. The old staff's reaction to this perspective was "sympathetic." They explained how the new staff "hadn't had time to develop a perspective on things yet." When queried about the turmoil produced by the retreat, one of the old staff explained: "Yes, _____ (new staff member) is right. We fought, but it was good for us; we learned to get along and to know each other. I didn't say we learned to love each other.... It was a rough experience so you can understand our reluctance to do it again, even though I believe it helped a lot." The only other disagreement observed between instructors involved expectations. One instructor said she had learned "you must develop your lessons and then cut them in half and then revamp each." A second instructor vehemently responded to this suggestion, "Oh no, I believe you've got to expect more and more out of them." They settled the dispute by agreeing that an instructor must maintain high expectations of interns, however, they continued to disagree about the means to this end.

The same individual lodged a complaint regarding vacations and their effect on the program.

> Teachers need more time for planning, say around the end of the school year--May or June. Time is needed to plan or to go to school to upgrade oneself. At least a month is needed.... One of the biggest problems in this program is staff turnover. We would have been a lot further along if we had the same people. Not everyone can work in an all-Black low income neighborhood. You have to think about it. You're putting it on the line to reach out to these interns once neglected. The salary is not great but I'd rather have the vacation time.... We are working with battered or bruised kids, injured.... They demand full-time attention. A good part of the turnover is that they apply and they're not desperate for a job. The stress is too much so they leave, but they could hold on to more of us if they would just not let us burn out.

Another instructor was concerned about the program's practices regarding tardiness. "We've had a big problem with attendance in CCS class as you know. So what did they [administrators] do. They moved CCS class to 10:30 as opposed to 8:30. This just caters to the intern's bad habits. We must let them know that if they continue to be late they will not pass that course and they will not graduate."

A third instructor interrupted the discussion to mention how successful his peer tutor program in reading was functioning. Most instructors were extremely busy developing and administering final examinations and make-up assignments. Counselors were occupied rechecking intern grades, credits, and attendance figures to make certain all prospective graduates met the CIP-LEA requirements. In addition, a new disposition system had been developed. Four teams of three staff members--two instructors and one counselor--are now responsible for reviewing the progress of 30 interns each month. Home visits have also been re-established for reasons of academic problems and attendance.

Two interns completed their Hands-On experience in electrical engineering during the August site visit. One intern's father and brother are in electronics. He provided the initial interest in the area. He said "CIP helped me find my interest in the field."

An informal demonstration of a counselor caring and attempting to shape an intern's language and subsequently his attitude was observed in the counseling department late in the afternoon. The counselor was talking and joking with a few other staff members, the evaluator, and a couple of interns about "running off at the mouth." The counselor suggested that one of the interns should try "putting a zipper on it [his mouth]," during class. The intern responded: "You try it." The counselor, detecting a lack of respect, retorted, "Don't you be tellin' me that. You know what I say about that street language. Street language you don't know how or when to use it." The counselor was attempting to affect the intern's behavior in class ("running his mouth") as well as his "belligerent attitude towards authority figures"--even in the informal situation where the exchange took place. This behavior demonstrated a concern both for the intern's behavior and for his attitude.

The majority of staff members suggested a major alteration in the summer program. Attendance was the most commonly cited problem with the summer session. "We should eliminate full attendance during summer. Maybe have a half-day. In two and a half years, summer attendance never gets better. We should sign a contract with interns for the summer allowing them to get credit for work experience." "More than half of the interns are failing this session and it's mainly because of attendance," another instructor commented. A third instructor explained: "We should have something like a work-study program during the summer so we get them jobs but we keep in touch with them over the summer; otherwise we might lose them come September. This also gives them a chance to get a few credits."

The only negative incident observed was a rare fight in the afternoon between an intern and an outsider. The encounter would have been insignificant given its rarity, had it not been illustrative of the fact that some youths are beyond the reach of programs like the CIP, despite the underlying desire of such individuals to want to change. The outsider was a former intern who had been terminated a year earlier for disciplinary problems--uncontrollable temper and theft. He protested his termination vehemently at the time--pleading for a second chance. He came back to try to enter the program during this site visit; however, he literally bumped into the one intern from whom he extorts money on a regular basis. He tried to be "chummy" with the intern and when rebuffed "blew up." He started fighting and throwing chairs at people. The fight was broken up and the outsider ran out of the building. The director had already called the police, however, and he was picked up, arrested, and placed in jail.

His experience provides useful insights into the nature of program participants as well as into the program itself. This individual was only one step beyond the parameters of the program. He is similar to his peers being disillusioned with the educational system. He, like a number of the interns in the program, has had "dealings" with the law. This former intern wants to change; however, he has less of an idea where to start psychologically than his counterparts in the program. He lacks the most rudimentary interpersonal social tools, e.g., not realizing that provoking a fight will not help one re-enter a program. The program is not equipped to deal with individuals with serious psychological disorders, e.g., self-destructive, uncontrollable rage. This individual would be better served by a program with a clinical or psychiatric emphasis. Although other interns have similar problems, they have developed more adaptive coping strategies. The CIP works with personal problems of interns; however, the program focuses on a different level of coping strategies related to schoolwork and the world of work.

The overall morale of staff and the few interns present was high, primarily because the two week vacation was near. Staff members also indicated that a much better relationship with the local OIC had been established with the change in (OIC) leadership. One individual cautioned, "it's still early, we thought _____ (the former Executive Director) was going to be great for us and you know how that worked out." The only real concern of staff remained future funding. The director had exhausted her search for funds and was waiting for a response from the CETA prime sponsor for discretionary funds before addressing DOL for matching funds in August.

A private foundation told the director that the CIP was an excellent program and had a good chance of obtaining funds from the prime sponsor. One of the difficulties anticipated in securing CETA funds, however, is the requirement to pay interns for attending CIP. The director felt that to do so would undermine a major program objective; however, she wants to have a practical attitude toward the political problem. "I am philosophically dead set against paying kids to come to school. It goes against the whole CIP philosophy. It undermines the kind of internalized incentive we are trying to develop in the interns. However, if that's the only way we can continue to operate the program, then we will accept the money and cross that bridge when we come to it."

Most of the staff members were encouraged by the DOL matching funds commitment and they believed the base funds would be found, although no source had yet been identified. Staff dedication to the program was manifested by the fact that they didn't look for other employment as had happened at other sites. LEA officials expressed their "sincere concern" for the program and its continuance; however, the LEA's financial problems left them unable to offer CIP any monies. Staff members said they would have serious doubts about accepting funding from the LEA in any case because it might have "a negative effect on the program." They explained that LEA policies would guide the program in a manner following the public schools. In addition, union teachers would be used to replace the present teachers, turning the CIP into a "bump shop." Instructors also feared that LEA teachers would bring with them "an unsatisfactory and unflexible attitude" that would not mesh with the program's philosophy. A majority of the staff members agreed that they would accept funds from the LEAs. However, they would (if allowed a voice) attempt to circumscribe "the power" accompanying the monies.

The LEA official was sympathetic to the CIP staff concerns in this regard. In addition, she offered her historical perspective on the program, and expressed her concern regarding a number of other CIP staff matters--as well as the future of the program.

> I see them [the interns] as losers. This is their second chance. It [the program] doesn't begin to scratch the surface given the numbers of kids that need that type of program. The service and sensitivity of the staff are fantastic. In fact, one of the Board member's children graduated from CIP. But, the salaries are totally unrealistic. How can you get the caliber person you need at this miserable salary. Teachers get $14,500 at entry here [LEA] with no experience. You have to pay for what you get with the cost of hiring. The CIP was not aware of the accreditation problems at first and we needed more background. Seeing the original proposal would have helped but the way it came to us, in just a phone call, we're here. The board should be involved in setting up criteria for curriculum. Also, the person hired [director] should have a background in the community where the school is going to be. _____ (the present director) came out of the blue. She sought us out. She asked for information so we loaded her down with material this thick, and she read it all. She's a real self-starter. During the open house, the superintendent and I attended the CIP-is-HIP day. One of the interns from public school was speaking. She said, "I liked it [the public school] but I didn't really learn anything till I came here. You should have seen _____ (the superintendent) he appreciated her honesty but he sank down in his chair real low. It was hilarious.... Now we are so proud of the CIP we try to take ownership of it.

Many of the first cohort interns had recently graduated and enrolled in summer college programs, such as Upward Bound. All of these interns planned to enter college on a full-time basis in the fall, according to interns and follow-up reports by counselors. One of the graduates that had made the most dramatic transformation, according to the entire staff, routinely visits the program. (This is a typical pattern for graduates who have developed a very strong sense of identity and affiliation with and through the program.) "He came in smelling like a monster. Thug number one," said one instructor. He was "a hood," according to his friends. Another staff member continued: "His hair was long and wild. He wore that big ol' pimpin' hat. Remember him, the one with the Barcelloni. He'd be tearin' up the place, rippin' and runnin' around the neighborhood. Always hanging around with _____ and the gang _____, _____, and _____." An instructor commented, "Now look at him. He is a changed man. He smiles now. You would never see a smile on his face before. His hair is cut, he dresses well, speaks politely and he's calmed down. He has truly matured. He's at _____ (community college) and he wants to be a mechanical engineer. They say he's got the mathematical aptitude to do it too. We're happy with the change we've seen in him. It's beautiful."

The dramatic change in this intern's apparel and posture was observed and documented photographically by the author over the last two years. In addition, his grades changed from failing to straight A's--honor role caliber. This particular graduate recognized the transformation he had made; however, he was facing new conflicts and dilemmas.

> I come back to the old neighborhood just to hang out, you know, and they accept me still just like before, except now instead of saying hey _____, they say, hey _____ the college man, and its different. Sometimes they won't let me be the same even when I am. Partly because I'm not around that much anymore; before, that's all I used to do is hang out with them. Now I drop by when I can but the other part is the college part. I don't mind too much, I'm meeting some really good people at school and of course I still hang out with _____, _____, and _____ [graduates from the CIP attending the same college]. We help each other. If I know something like math and _____ needs help after dinner we work on it. When I need help _____ or _____ comes by to help me. The tutor is also real good. They explain everything so you can understand. The professors, you know, they don't care, they're just in there busy leccuring, they don't have time for questions with so many people.

When this graduate was asked what he thought about the program and why he returns to visit so often, he said:

> How could I forget it. I wouldn't be where I'm at without this place, I'll never forget it. Mr. _____ I hate to admit it, but he helped me a whole lot. He was tough but thats what its like out there. Its real.... They all helped me and I'll never forget them. I know I'm going to make it now. I know why people were afraid of me before when I had to act "bad". Now I know how to think things through and how it [the system] all works. I'll keep coming back to see my old friends and to try and help the new interns comin' up. Tell 'em how you gotta get serious about all this and how it really pays off."

Interviews with a number of graduates revealed similar experiences and feelings towards the program and the future. An important and interesting manifestation of staff concern for interns was displayed in the case just described. The intern had contemplated not accepting the college's offer of admission because he was ashamed of his second-hand clothes. The staff all contributed to a fund to buy him a few new clothes to enable him to attend.

Finally, a selection of CIP poetry in their school newspaper provides an insight into what CIP means to interns--it is entitled CIP Means.

CIP means a home away from home.
CIP means good teachers like you & _____.
CIP means having a little fun.
CIP means getting the job done.
CIP means people who care.
CIP means people who share.
CIP means a great deal.
CIP means being for real.
CIP means activity day.
CIP means games that you plan.
CIP means meeting a smiling face in the morning.
CIP means no playing around in the corners.
CIP means a stop along the way.
CIP means looking forward to a better day.
CIP means a hop, skip, and jump.
CIP means getting over the hump.
CIP means a new way of life.
CIP means finding a husband or wife.
CIP means eating a good meal.
CIP means they care how you feel.
CIP means seeing a basketball game.
CIP means learning new faces and new names.
CIP means CIP is HIP Day.
CIP means Monday through Friday.
But most of all, CIP means success.

Adaptive Relationships Intrinsic to Program Operations

OIC (local)

- Effective staff recruitment and screening are essential to program success. Underqualified, incompetent, and/or insensitive staff will seriously undermine, if not destroy, the program.

- Retroactive salary increases boost staff morale.

CIP Management

- Strong management that is capable of gathering resources and making decisions about activities requiring immediate action, serves to maintain operation of the core program.

- Strong management procedures, although perceived as dictatorial, produced a feeling of group membership and "belonging" among interns.

- Middle management's routine use of the whole-person concept in their interactions with interns is perceived as caring by interns (which in turn contributes to their attendance).

- Increased accountability contributed to the "re-kindling" of staff spirit.

- An administrative "crackdown" reduced problems of intern cutting.

- The new director has initiated beneficial changes and improved staff morale (however, she must deal with a number of lingering problems).

- Extensive planning and subliminary of proposals for future funding mitigates staff distress and turnover.

- Remodeling a structure to make it suitable as an educational setting is required to make the program conducive to learning, to establish managerial control of staff and interns, and to maintain staff morale.

- Definition of roles and program policies represents one of the most important elements of a functioning program. The absence of these elements leads to confusion, staff and intern misinterpretations, misunderstandings, infighting, and turnover. (The institution of definite program rules and regulations can "turn a program around.")

- A "pat" or "stroke" (appreciation) often boosts staff morale more than a raise.

- Personable, firm, and competent management can redirect a factionalized staff.

- Activity days (for club activities, campaign speeches, etc.) promote higher attendance toward the end of the week.

- A practical and flexible perspective is required regarding funding arrangements if the program is to survive.

Instruction

- Maintaining high expectations both in and outside the classroom contributes to high intern attendance (83% in one site).

- The use of contracts and various teaching devices contributes to a greater understanding and sense of responsibility on the part of the intern.

- The use of packets contributes to a better understanding of homework.

- Being open and sincere in their dealings with interns helps instructors produce a school climate that is perceived as human and flexible, and which keeps interns coming and willing to work.

- The accelerated nature of the program motivates interns to "get down to it."

- The "firm but caring" attitude of instructors toward the interns is a primary motivating factor that promotes their continued participation in the programs.

- Peer tutoring is an effective means of teaching reading (the situation is devoid of negative peer pressure or the stigma associated with not being able to read).

Counseling

- Intensive counseling embodying the whole person concept (inside and outside the program) enhances intern coping strategies, i.e., controlling one's temper, and contributes to regular attendance patterns.

- Providing auxiliary services, e.g., day care service, enables interns with children to attend the CIP on a regular basis.

- Counseling interns according to the whole-person concept (getting involved in interns' lives when it affects their participation in the program) contributed to interns "sticking with the program."

- Counseling according to the whole-person concept contributes to interns understanding their problems and recognizing steps to remedy them.

- Over-recruitment plans have a positive effect on staff morale in terms of security. This is due primarily to the expertise of the school coordinator with explicit recruitment procedures.

- Public address systems in local schools produce the best recruitment results.

- Effective recruitment requires, or is enhanced, by: organized and systematic plans, hard work from recruitment teams, LEA cooperation, a "real" office in the feeder schools, permission to make announcements on the public address system, good timing (after report cards), and peer group (intern) participation.

- A caring and firm attitude toward interns is effective in getting "them to be responsible in class and work."

- Parent pressure is an invaluable tool for "reaching" interns.

- Counselors learn that interns are "very moral" and that they display a need to be loved as a function of daily interaction with them.

General Staff

- A supportive staff contributes to interns studying, selecting a career, and earning a diploma.

- Enforcement of program rules and regulations contributes to intern internalizing world-of-work norms. It is also directly responsible for the absence of profanity, smoking in class or hallways, and loitering.

- Indoctrination of all staff (including the janitor) into the whys and wherefores of the program contributes to increased intern motivation to attend regularly and pursue studies.

- Dedication to the whole-person concept "in spite of it all" resultes in interns perceiving the program as "a lot better" than their old high school regardless of the problems.

- The existence of the program has prevented a number of interns from "just hangin' out" and "getting back into my old ways."

- Enforcement of some elements of the maintenance system, e.g., patrolling the halls, directly contributes to "getting interns back into class."

- Experience in the program contributes to staff awareness and perception of "the problem that exists in American democracy with respect to stop-gap measures, demonstration projects that come and go, the systematic ignoring of problems, and the preference of many for the way things are now. (This type of awareness led to an increased dedication for some and to departure from the program for others.)

- Familiarity between staff and interns is used as a tool to shape intern behavior.

- The supportive atmosphere is conducive to the generation of friendships.

- Enforcement of the rules and regulations directly affectes intern attitudes and appearances, producing greater conformity to world-of-work norms.

- High staff expectations of interns are required to effectively affect intern behavior.

- Staff criticism of inappropriate intern behavior (in informal and formal settings) is interpreted positively by interns as a form of caring.

- The program has produced graduates and placements in college, skills training programs, the military, and so on.

- The program has produced dramatic transformations with interns--attitudinally and behaviorally.

- Projects such as school newspapers or "scared straight programs" generate interest and participation among interns throughout a program.

Interns

- Small program size is required to produce the community-like atmosphere that forced many interns to exercise common courtesies not required at their former high school.

- Experience with interns led the staff to recognize that their behavior resulted from boredom or not wanting to get involved with the "wrong crowd" rather than from any learning disabilities.

- The program generated a loyalty in "old" interns such that they defend it from new interns' verbal assaults.

- The existence of a program like CIP assisted many interns in their attempts to find a direction for their lives.

- Existence of the program enabled interns to enter careers and college.

- Interns recognize that staff must have faith, dedication, and talent "to make it (the program) work."

- School clubs and the Intern Council enhance intern affiliation with the program.

- Summer sessions result in poor attendance. Work-study programs would be a more effective tool to retain interns than the academic program, according to staff and interns.

- Graduation changes interns' peer's perception of the graduate (as separate from the old negative peer group).

Maladaptive Relationships Intrinsic to Program Operation

OIC (local)

- Local OIC pressures on CIP staff members to "shape up or ship out" contribute to "everyone minding everyone's business."

- Administrative bottlenecks interfere with program operations and fuel staff resentment.

- Inadequate numbers of books prevent interns from doing homework.

- The use of strategies appropriate for training programs is counterproductive for academic purposes.

- The absence of a night guard or burglary alarm encourages routine break-ins in a high crime area. This in turn demoralizes staff and interns, producing an atmosphere of fear, distrust, and resentment. (Simultaneously, this experience strengthens program "solidarity" until it becomes a routine occurrence.)

CIP Management

- Inadequate administrative support serves to "bottleneck" necessary requests (e.g., for materials) and frustrates the staff.

- "Weak" management contributes to staff absences which leads, in turn, to intern absences.

- "Loyal" staff grew increasingly frustrated as they watched the other group operate with impunity.

- "Austerity budgets" that contain no provisions for cost of living, loyalty, or merit raises are self-defeating and lead to high staff turnover.

- Strong management procedures were perceived as dictatorial and produced friction between the director and some staff members.

- Perceived "weak administrative skills" and insufficient administrative autonomy (to hire and fire staff) contributed to staff indifference to administrative demands and factionalism between nonsupporters and "loyalists."

- The sudden and autocratic imposition of new rules will antagonize those on whom they are imposed--whether staff or interns.

- Hiring policies that ignore philosophical and attitudinal qualifications will lead to staff disruption and intern disinterest.

- Management that ignores courtesy and protocol will demoralize staff, which in turn affects intern behavior, e.g., attendance, graffiti, hanging out.

- Management by intimidation generates staff disruption, staff turnover, teacher absenteeism, dissatisfaction, and resume passing.

- Lack of a strong educational administrative background in management serves to undermine CIP-LEA negotiations and often undermines basic program operations.

- The role of dynamic, charismatic, and competent leadership is paramount to the success of the program. The withdrawal of such leadership can severely weaken a programs ability to function on a daily basis, stimulating staff insubordination and turnover.

- Temporary leadership is usually recognized as such by staff and interns and leads to a consistent disregard for program rules and regulations--for staff as well as interns

- Effective management requires a knowledge of "what's going on" in the program through informal and formal channels or sources on both staff and intern levels. Ignorance in this area severely weakens an administrators ability to rectify programmatic problems.

- Inconsistent enforcement of basic intern rules and regulations demoralizes staff and interns alike.

- The lack of "professional sharing" (time to communicate with colleagues) diminishes staff members sense of professionalism and breeds secrecy and clandestine channels of communication (which are often sources of serious miscommunication).

- Assigning overall program management duties to the instructional supervisor isolates that person from program details and concerns. In addition, instructors do not receive the support and guidance they need.

- Paternalistic or condescending attitudes in management undermine staff respect for administration and the program in general.

- Immature administrators lead to staff turnover of highly qualified and dedicated individuals.

- Lack of vacation time leads to staff burnout.

- The absence of protocol and a pre-planning period produced significant difficulties working with the LEAs.

- Expansion to a new separate facility directly contributed to cutting classes and roaming in the streets while crossing from one building to the other.

- Inadequate time (or know-how) for establishing working agreements with the LEA leads to almost insurmountable problems.

Instructors

- Instructors who employed traditional classroom teaching techniques or failed to infuse their courses with content relevant to the interns' lives were unsuccessful in achieving either learning or attendance objectives.

Counselors

- Insufficient counseling services lead to intern dissatisfaction, loitering in the halls waiting to see the counselor, and "cutting out."

- When the counseling department is overworked, personal counseling is the first area to get "the short end of the stick."

- Telephone calls and letters are ineffective means of recruiting interns.

General Staff

- Failure to have and enforce rules regarding lateness and apparel, for example, contribute to repeated intern tardiness (often leading to absences) and maladaptive self-presentation skills, e.g., inappropriate clothing for the world-of-work.

- Absence or inconsistent use of the maintenance system was periodically interpreted as a form of "not caring." The validity of the intern's interpretation was not important. Their perception or interpretation contributed to the lack of motivation responsible for their many absences.

- Factionalism, "power trips," and the use of racial issues were used to obfuscate real professional inadequacies among staff members.

- Staff frustration and tension, when coupled with a lack of administrative autonomy, contribute to neglect in establishing course schedules that reflect interns' requirements for graduation--this in turn contribute to high rates of intern absenteeism.

- The lack of consistently enforced program rules and regulations directly contributed to intern "bullcracking in class," high absenteeism, periodic altercations, graffiti on the bathroom walls, and smoking and loitering in the hallways.

- Past factionalism and lack of staff communication effectively halted all but the core program operations.

- Low staff morale affected intern morale and contributed directly to poor attendance and indirectly to theft in the program and disciplinary problems.

- Inconsistent enforcement of the maintenance system contributed to tardiness and inappropriate appearance, e.g., hats, sneakers, T-shirts, etc.

- Past staff dissatisfaction and past staff absences have had a delayed negative effect on intern attendance patterns.

- When staff feel "short changed" they don't change interns (they are not able to mobilize sufficient energy to affect interns that require that "extra effort").

- Inadequate clerical help, poor communication, staff resistence to recruitment are inhibiting factors to recruitment.

- Poor communication between staff and administration ranks as one of the most frequent causes of program disruption leading to lower staff morale and indirectly to intern absenteeism.

- High staff turnover rates produce a lack of continuity in the program, problems with follow-up, ignorance of basic rules, regulations, and program policies. This in turn confuses and disenchants interns.

Interns

- Absences and tardiness are highly correlated with proximity of weekend vacations and summer session--the closer it is to weekends and holidays, the lower the attendance.

- More than half of the interns fail summer session courses because of attendance. The CIP schedule is not designed to accommodate the interns' needs for summer employment.

Adaptive Relationships Extrinsic to Program Operation

Sponsor

- Adequate funding levels and time frames lead to staff satisfaction and reduced turnover.

OIC/A

- OIC/A's intervention can save foundering programs.

- The OIC/A intervention and media blitz contributed significantly to "saving the program"--literally and figuratively.

- National conferences that include local school board officials give the program a boost in credibility.

- Staff retreats are useful mechanisms for building program solidarity.

OIC

- Constructive local OIC intervention can help programs over difficult times--for example, by providing interim management personnel.

Community

- Threats to the program from outsiders (e.g., street gang members, crashing a CIP disco) can elicit and/or reinforce interns' identification with and commitment to the [illegible]

- "Break-ins" similarly creates a "we/they" dichotomy and reinforced a strong sense of program affiliation and loyalty.

- Exposure to the community from which the CIP interns are drawn can reinforce commitment to the program.

- Interns' past experiences with broken homes, negative peer pressure, dope, school hopping (looking for the "right kind of people"), etc., provide strong motivation to enter the program and seriously pursue their studies.

- Time contributes to reducing interns' interest in roaming the streets (between buildings).

Maladaptive Relationships Extrinsic to Program Operation

Executive Agency

- National awards boost staff morale; however, they also stimulate jealousies with "competing" programs that serve to block productive channels of communication.

Funding Agency

- Threats of termination from the funding agency if certain conditions are not met, are counterproductive. Such behavior demoralizes the staff, even at sites that are not threatened.

- Partial or inadequate funding significantly inhibits program effectiveness.

Managing Agencies

- Disagreements between the funding and managing agencies can interrupt the flow of funds to the program. "Mixed signals" at the sites are also demoralizing.

- Excessive pressures to meet enrollment quotas encourages sites to enroll inappropriate types of students. While in the program, such students disrupt operations. Most drop out or are terminated which gives a misleading impression of the program's ability to retrain students.

- A treatment-control evaluation design generates difficulties "selling the program" to prospective interns (and directors of other programs) and damages the reputation of disseminators as service organizations. This problem is particulrly severe when program "slots" go unfilled.

- Uncertain funding and lack of local support lead to administrative turnover.

- A lack of adequate time for preparation and start-up invariably leads to operational problems later on.

OIC/A - OIC

- Rivalry and considerations of "turf" between OIC/A and the local OIC leads to the erection of obstacles to productive communication, cooperation, and training of program staff.

- (Mis)use of an evaluation report to highlight program deficiencies is likely to contribute to the demoralization of a once-dedicated staff.

LEA

- School boards and/or officials who are reluctant to cooperate can so hinder recruitment that the CIP may never achieve reasonable enrollment levels.

- Teacher unions may force the employment of several LEA instructors. If those who are hired have non-supportive attitudes and low expectations of interns, their presence in the program will be a strong negative influence on both staff and interns.

- The difference in pay scales, fringe benefits, and number of paid holidays between CIP and LEA personnel contributed to the already present factionalism.

- Summer session and lower salaries than the public school are the most significant variables contributing to staff burnout and turnover.

- The offer of promotional opportunities, (program) job security, salary increases, and praise or appreciation (and the lack of these elements in the program) are the primary reasons for staff turnover--aside from frustration with management.

- If the CIP is made an integral part of the school system (as happened at one site), the major incentive for the regular high schools to cooperate in the recruitment of potential interns is lost. Other negative consequences might include: increased unionization of the instructional staff (with a consequent loss of dedication and caring) and lessened flexibility to operate outside the constraints of traditional school policies.

Community

- One site suffered from a situation in which its facility was located within the boundaries of one LEA while serving students from several others. Resentment within the unserved "home" community led to harassment.
- Gangs in the immediate vicinity of the program may erect obstacles to prevent interns from attending the program (turf problems--territorial imperatives).
- Lack of adequate heat in the building and severe weather conditions forcing the administration to close down operations contributed to a break in continuity of intern attendance patterns.

IX. A DIRECTOR'S PERSPECTIVE

One of the last site visits included a discussion of the CIP with one of the most successful directors just after his resignation and just before his departure. During this interview, the director provided extremely useful insights into the program. Because of the unique nature of this discussion, it is included here almost in its entirety.

To begin with, the director discussed what he considered to be the most important element of a successful CIP--caring. He discussed this element directly and indirectly in terms of staff-intern familiarity, size of the program, counselor contact, home visits, parent involvement, and referral procedures.

> The first thing (that makes CIP work) is the caring aspect of our program. When I say caring, I'm talking about the fact that interns already have their own standards of who cares for them and who doesn't care for them. Let's talk about the school system. In the school system they were just part of a population. A large population as far as they were concerned. Here in the CIP not only do we recognize them on a first name basis (in contrast to the local school system), but we talk to them. As a result, we don't have this problem of anonymity which they have been subjected to in the school system.
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> The second part is that they (students) have to wait endlessly to see their counselor in the school system, sometimes they don't even know who their counselors are and have never even talked to them. Here they can see their counselor on a scheduled or an unscheduled basis. That also reinforces the caring aspect I am talking about.
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> The third part is in the idea of home visits. It's more than just you and I in school for six hours. It's also the extention to the home situation. They appreciate a lot that we are able to visit them in their homes. Their parents understand what we are trying to do because we tell them. Moreover, we are able to educate the parents on how to evaluate the report card. We have been able to let them understand what are the requirements for graduation so that the parent can take a look at the report card and say, 'OK, I think you have

take these courses, otherwise you are not going to graduate.' Parents call us to say that 'I see on the report card only two electives, what about the English he needs. What are you doing about it?'

The caring idea is not only observed by the intern it is also observed by the parents Parents have observed that we just don't terminate anybody like in the school system. You are either a dropout or a pushout (in the local school system). Now, if you are a pushout someone is pushing you out. If you are a dropout, it is your own decision. When an intern is referred for attendance problems we sit down and talk for about an hour. Then we send down what looks like a summons, asking their parents to come and talk with us and the intern. At that time, we put the intern on the punch card and the class monitoring system to check their attendance more closely. Therefore, when it becomes really necessary for us to sit down and do the referral (for termination) everybody knows it, because the disposition conference will have identified it as a problem across the board.

I'm talking about staff, the instructors as well as the counselors, in a disposition conference. We are talking about when a student is going to be referred to a referral school. Now the parents see that we have exhausted all the avenues of the care which we need to get him. In the final analysis if he doesn't fit in here and wants to be transferred, that's fine that's their choice. However before a person actually departs from this place (as you noticed, we don't call it a dropout date anymore, it's a departure date) what we do is we look into our linkages and refer him or her to a referral agency where we think that service could be afforded. We are talking about referral to psychological and psychiatric clinics. Departments of social services in the case of pregnant girls who need that kind of service. A referral to a rehabilitation center where rehabilitation seems to be the problem. A referral to some of the (local) OIC programs where maybe a skill program is needed, specifically OJT. In other areas where employment seems to be the thing the student needs for one reason or another. So those things also reinforce this whole caring attitude which the interns see on an ongoing basis.

> In the school system, the usual situation is that when a young lady becomes pregnant, that lady is thrown out of the school. There's no referral--nothing. Now we don't do it that way. The student or her mother or a friend picks up any course work that has taken place in the classroom. When she can come in she is allowed to come and to sit in class after the baby is born, she is given an excused absence from time x to time y but she is still doing the work. We have several of them around in school, and they pick up where she left off. As you know, final assessment is the student being able to pass the city-wide examination, the basic competency test, and recently the regional test. So when the student who became pregnant comes back to school, she is allowed to pick up where she left off to get ready for all these examinations, as against so you're pregnant, get the hell out. So the caring is the big aspect of the success of the CIP.

The director continued the discussion, identifying who the program is and is not able to assist. In addition, he proposed an extension to the program that might help those individuals that could not then be served by the program.

> I think all around. it (the program) works for any student who finds himself in this kind of population--the inner-city student who has economic constraints, educational constraints, social constraints--that group which we call disadvantaged. As you say, there are some within this group that don't fit in. Those who don't fit in usually. as I have observed, are those who have rather severe psychological problems, those who have made up their minds to continue their education in the service, those who have been forced by their probation officers to either go into the CIP or go to jail. When you have that kind of exterior kind of force on you its motivational, yes, but when you pull away the force that is creating the motivation, the guy is left there by himself. Those are the students I would think do not fit in here.
>
> There are also some students who have some very adverse problems with authority and they see that they would like to come in and play basketball all day long. When they find out that they are not going to be able to play basketball all

day long they try something else in the building other than classroom work. So they walk through the hallway and start all kinds of arguments, like they wouldn't wear their shoes, and they know you are going to chase them. Anything to get attention. Showing us he can do something where he can be brought here to sit down and not have to go to class. These who have problems with authority don't fit in.

Those who actually are using this as a stopping place from which they can go into the service don't fit in either. In the school system they are too old (over 18) they may not get the okay, but here they think they will get the signature, my signature, because they are students and our program serves 16 to 21 year olds. Okay, so they think they can come here and get the signature and go in the service. They think as long as they come in from a school and they have not finished a high school diploma they will finish it in the service.

The other ones are those calcified kinds of criminals. I'm sorry to use that word but that's all I can say they just don't see this place as anything else but the man said I should come here so I will but their mind is not here, its always on the street, something to hustle. They come in here to hide.

It doesn't work too well with students who have had some sort of brush with the law and whose associates are those they met in the jail, specifically the students that somehow, once upon a time had the chance to handle big, big sums of money, and they did not acquire those big sums of money because they went to school and graduated and the rest of it. They hustled. So it is very difficult for them to understand why they have to stay in school and graduate when they can tell you point blank, I know a guy there that can make it in two seconds. So those kind of people who have seen the world outside, enjoyed the world outside, and probably experienced the world outside by going to jail or something like that, they don't fit in here.

In many, many instances, for the first two months they will fit in, they will come to school late but they will apologize. They are usually polite and they will talk to you and the rest of it. But as soon as the novelty days are

> over and they go back to the man and he says, oh well, your report shows you are doing very well, Hands-On and the rest of it, they go right back. The whole first few months from jail they have to be at their best, but as soon as they pass their ninety days or so they go back to the same thing; they come back with all sorts of excuses and all kinds of things, you know they only poke in here just to be seen and then they are gone, as this kind of program is not good for them.
>
> Now whether a program like this but with a preparation or a skill component would provide them another entree where they can see 'this will make me make money and therefore I will stay in it,' I don't know. I would like to test it. I would like to have a component called a preparatory industrial skills where the student feels as soon as he finishes we can put him in OJT (On the Job Training). I wonder, its something I'm trying to explore. It's not an OJT program where the kids have to be paid. I am completely against paying them to go to school. I feel once they finish the preparatory skill training program and they have completed their high school work, the linkage should be either OJT or skill training. Now if they get into OJT they have to be paid. If they go into the skill training component where they are getting stipends, yes, they should because they need money to buy their tools, carfare, and the rest of it, and they don't qualify for bus passes, so that portion of it yes. When I spoke to this guy from Philadelphia, the Director of High School Academies, Philadelphia Urban Coalition, I spoke with him about his experience and he told me that in the academic areas the attendance rate is low, but as soon as you move them in the same school to the skill areas, their attendance goes up. This is what I want to try.

The director's views of the American educational system and American society have had an effect on the program and therefore warrent examination. The director acknowledged that the CIP was run in accordance with his beliefs for changing the system, however, he hoped his new job would provide him with an opportunity to test his theories regarding American education and a chance to implement more fully his educational philosophy. In this discussion, the director points to problems with the American education system that have directly affected the operation of the CIP. His criticisms of the program are related to basic philosophical and structural changes in the orientation of the program. Furthermore, he suggests alternatives (discussed previously) to remedy the problem with the program and the American educational system in general.

> Since I started doing this kind of work I have found out that the whole American educational system is geared toward college from elementary to high school, and if you look at it and all the courses that are being offered, your science courses, your English courses, your this, your that, they all are geared toward college. Now not everybody is college material. There are some people who just are going to be artisans. They will be able to do certain types of skill training. They like to work with their hands. Now what do we do with that group?
>
> If you look at it in New York City, the number of high schools around as compared with the number of vocational high schools around. We are dealin' with inner city people, and within the inner city we don't have any of these vocational high schools at all. Why?, because the orientation in the school system itself, our teachers, our principals, and all the rest of it, the orientation is college. So, when you come in, the thing is get your high school diploma and go to college. And the emphasis even in our program is, as soon as the students are about to complete their program, well, let's start talking about BEOG (financial aid), this is what we begin talking about.
>
> We show them brochures. We don't have any technical schools in these. They're all college. They're all college.... The whole thing is that if you really want to be a success, Johnny go to college. The orientation is this way so the kids feel that if they cannot make it in college and they know they cannot make it in college, they are failures, and I believe when we develop a program within the CIP where we introduce them to some of the skills which are needed in their neighborhood, and I'm talking about plumbing--its needed in the neighborhood--I'm talkin' about carpentry, I'm talking about plastering and painting, I'm talking about an area like electrical wiring which is needed. I'm talking about roofing which is needed. I'm talking about auto mechanics, you can break it down into all kinds of

> areas. I'm talking about a simple thing like brick masonry where they fix the sidewalks and all sorts of things.
>
> Now these are honest-to-goodness skills which individuals can pick up. Do well in it if they don't want to go all the way downtown to be employed, they can be employed around here because that need is there. A simple thing like being a very good super (superintendent) house repairs.... People own houses all around here. But at least they have an honest-to-goodness job. But at this time, what are we doing, We are referring them to a situation and we are telling them, 'hey, the only way to live in this place is to go to college.'
>
> First we start by telling them to go to high school. Before they finish high school we begin to tell them the only way to do it is to go to college while we extend their time when they have to earn money. They are under pressure at home, 'man, when I was your age I was working already and I was earning money.' They drop out and what did they drop out with but a high school diploma, no skill but with this kind of vestibule training, preskill training, I think that will actually whet their appetite for more skill training in other areas. I think once they have that kind of exposure, as the Philadelphia Director of High School Academies says, when its in the same school, the attendance in the academics never goes down, as soon as they hear they're going to the Academy, attendance goes up and on top of that they do repairs and make some bucks on Saturday.

The author anticipated a criticism of the director's position regarding a change in the program and asked the director to respond to the concern of tracking minorities into vocational occupations or careers, rather than college bound careers.

> This is how I will answer it. How did the Black person or the so-called minority person exist during the early years of this century. All the Blacks were artisans and they, through acquisition of certain kinds of monies, they were able to start their own schools. What I am saying is this, that the route to the world of work is not only through college. The route to the world of work is not only through white collar jobs. Now

its true there is discrimination in white collar jobs. What I'm saying is that instead of just leaving the kid in the lurch at the corner, he has to eat like you and I have to eat. He has to work like you and I have to work. He has to sleep like you and I have to sleep. OK, if we know he cannot be attracted into a higher education situation that will put him or her in the position that we find ourselves, we should not leave him in the lurch only to exist by mugging. OK, we shouldn't do that. We should expose him to some kind of career that will provide him with money. Now what I'm saying, if we are talking about alternative education, it has to have a rehabilitation process. The skill rehabilitation process in this program is just an orientation to the world of work-skill. There is no skill development. So that argument, in my opinion, doesn't hold. Whichever way you look at it, he gotta exist.

The argument that skill development programs are tracking the kids into a particular kind of occupation, so we are. We are because if you look into the neighborhoods, the city owns eight percent of all abandoned buildings in the city. A restoration would rehabilitate the city. If they have that kind of skill they contribute to the neighborhood and make money. For example, _____ we didn't teach him about carpentry. He associated himself with a carpenter and now he knows his trade. He doesn't have to go to the street to mug anymore. He picked his art up on the street, it doesn't make him less of a person. So what I'm saying is that this career concentration thing, don't let it be just career orientation.

I think the reason why all these manpower administration programs used to be in this area is because they were funded ostensibly to provide employment for the neighborhood people. But it was not skill based so it didn't help anybody. We're back where we started and the people who sat behind desks and drew salaries and so forth, when the money dried up they are just the same as you found them. If some of the money had been used for the training of plumbers you cannot take that skill away from the man--or plasterers. But, yet, still, if the same community people, if they had been told their children should learn certain kinds of skills some politician was going to say, 'look, you're

> going to put all minority people in.' Alright, so look into your police system in _____, you take the Irish people out and you don't have a police system, take your educational system in _____, you take the Jews out, you don't have an educational system, take your construction work in _____, you take the Italians out, you don't have that kind of system. So what are we talking about, I mean, what's the argument? Its there, its real.
>
> I think what we have not done, unfortunately, is that when Black people or minority people used to be the servants that was their place. Well, we used to be the cleaners, yes, that was our place. When we used to be the people to wax floors that was our place, no one said anything about it. But as soon as we begin to move a little higher than just a cleaner all of a sudden, 'hey you, you streamlining the people into an occupation,' so what, as far as I'm concerned its what's always happened. It's a step further for most of these kids and it reduces the economic pressure on them.

The remainder of the discussion focused on the following issues: what makes the program an alternative, how it works, important elements, outcomes, casual interrelationships, and leadership style. The director focused on the instructional approach, class size and composition, cluster and peer instruction techniques, counseling services, cooperative climate, and a pragmatic career orientation.

> CIP is an alternative education, number one because of its instructional approach. There is the traditional system of instruction where the teacher stands in front of the classroom and he lectures. CIP is different--there's hardly any lecturing. That's one. The second part of it [regarding instructional difference] is class size. The third part of it is the counseling services--the diversified counseling services that we have. The fourth part of it is the cooperation, cooperative feeling which the interns get as soon as they move from their school to come here and see what this whole association is.
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> What do I mean by instructional difference? In each classroom there are four systems of instruction going on. As you know, we have students who come from tenth, eleventh, twelfth

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grade. We don't have a class which says tenth grade and eleventh grade. We have one classroom. So in each classroom you will run the gamut of tenth graders, eleventh graders, and twelfth graders. The question is how are you able to teach the class with different levels. This makes our system alternative.

One, we have what we call cluster instruction going on in the classroom. By cluster instruction we are talking about identifying interns with similar problems. For example, they don't understand division of fractions and you find out in your class, say in the math class, you have x number of students who don't understand division of fractions. That's what the subject for the day is and we're talking about tenth graders, eleventh graders, and twelfth graders. They don't understand the basics of division of fractions. So you cluster this particular group into one area within the classroom and they will be doing that kind of work.

Then we also have peer instruction going on. We are still doing division of labor but within that classroom there is a group of people who have already done division of fractions. Multiplication of fractions is beginning to give them problems, or it is the next step. So what the teacher does, he assigns some group of two people or four people to work with a peer who understands the multiplication and that peer provides them at that same time with instruction in that area. It brings prestige, it brings self-esteem and so forth, and each one of them would like to lead in that type of situation.

The third thing is that we have individual instruction. Because you have the cluster thing going on, they're working on their own with the programmed instruction, and you have peer instruction where one of the peers is able to help out, the teacher is able to provide individual instruction to those who really, really, really have problems with the basics. So what we have in each classroom going on at any time will be your peer, your cluster, and your individual. In many instances, if it is a new subject and taught at the same class time you will have part of the time used for the general traditional instruction which is group instruction. Then as soon as that instruction is completed, that group breaks into cluster. In

> the school system you only have the traditional stand there and lecture. That's one aspect of our program which makes our whole thing attractive.
>
> The second part of it is the course content itself. Remember our program is career intern. So there is the career orientation. It is difficult sometimes for students to try and find out, 'why must I learn decimals--I mean, what's all this for, I mean is it for nothing?' Alright fine, but if a student begins to know that the dollar system has a place in your day-to-day operation of the usage of money, actually what you are saying is a dollar twenty-five is one point twenty-five dollars. He understands the application. So all the subjects we teach here, regardless of whatever it is, we try to let the student know that this area he or she is learning, its day-to-day application is found in this, and in that, that that, that, and that, all across with the result that the student really develops an enjoyment, an interest in the program as against the school system. The school system says that on the syllabus you are supposed to teach decimals and that's all you teach them, decimals. Why decimals is a different story. 'Cause you got to do it.

The characteristics of entering students shape the response of staff members in instruction or counseling. The manner in which the staff prepare the intern to enter the program contributes significantly to the alternative nature of the program, according to the director.

> Our orientation or preparation of the student into the program itself makes this program alternative. This population is very transient, very, very active. They don't sit. They play basketball, they play handball, they play paddleball. They play anything that makes them move and when they stop the playing, they dance. It's that music, poppin' the hand and all kinds of things to the point that there is no music and you can see them up, down [gestures as if dancing], and there's no music. Look at the kind of meals that most of them enjoy. Even the area of meals, you eat when you are walking or can eat while you're standing and quick, you're done.

The whole process of education is you have to sit and you have someone teach you, talk to you. But if you're constantly mobile then it means your first step is to learn how to sit down, sit still. Another thing is, because they are constantly moving, they have destroyed, in many instances, their attention span. You need attention span to absorb anything. So our first thing is number one to reduce the amount of shiftingness or the amount of mobility as much as possible so they can learn how to sit still and in so doing teach them how to expand their attention span. And we do this by assigning them certain types of things where they use their eyes. Question, what do we do? What we do is we give them a jigsaw puzzle, as easy as that. We assign, say in 45 minutes you have to finish this, its first period. You do this. It's a challenge, other people have done it and we tell them other people did it. The fact that other people did it is a challenge enough on him or her to sit down and do it and replicate that I can also do it.

We are beginning to develop encouragement. And once that is done, he is going to be able to tell this guy 'hey man, I did it five months before you!' Now its no more the question of he couldn't do it, but he's done it better than the other guy who did it and the next time he's going to tell me I can do another better time. Slowly because he is concentrating on comparing the jigsaw trial and error and the rest of it, he is at the same time learning attention span because as long as his attention is there he can do the thing faster.

Another thing he has not done in the past is because he is constantly moving, he has not actually learned to use his eyes. He focuses on a particular thing all the time. So in the classroom, 'hey man, hey, hey, hey' [slaps hands together as if greeting others]. He's only listening for the bell so he can move out, but because we started with the jigsaw puzzle now he is able to sit down and look on the board and see what is happening there. Another thing which they don't have is they are used to an economy of words, quote and unquote. So much so that their day to day expressions, which they need on paper or to explain to a teacher who has asked them a question, is lost. 'How do you feel --'; 'f--- it. It stinks.' 'Hey man, how did you make out today!' 'Ah the motherf----- you know how they are, ah s---!' Well, that's all he said. That's all he said.

Now after you've taught the person to sit, after you've taught the person to expand his attention, the next thing we do here is to develop his listening talents. It's not the talking yet. His listening habits. This is where the CCS plays a whole lot, cause the CCS they are able to listen to other people's perspectives and opinions about things so as to develop their own opinions. In the first few days, they may not talk at all but it does not mean they are not listening, because you will observe where someone is talking he will look, why, because he has already developed the attention span. So now someone is talking, he is going to look. The other one is talking, he looks, the other one is talking, he looks. Now you know you've got him as far as his attention is concerned. What he doesn't yet know is to formulate. Pool all the information that everyone has given. Form an opinion, formulate it in his head, and then get him to talk and what do we do in that instance. The next thing that comes in is you don't ask him to talk but in order for you to give him that type of encouragement, you may say, 'okay, next time when we come in now we all know what everybody feels about this issue, next time I'd like to get a paper on how you all see it. So tomorrow when you come in think about what you want to say. anyway we are going to talk about this and we are going to discuss it ' So he comes in tomorrow and says, alright, now yesterday we all talked about this and I know not all of you were able to talk. Some didn't talk, we don't have that kind of time so let's write, find out how your opinions are. That person has been able to put something down on paper now that is his. The teacher takes it and grades it and helps him out or whatever it is and the paper is in front of him. The subject comes up again and the teacher begins to pick up those who are wallflowers, who don't talk in class because they have not developed their communication. They have done the listening but we have not done the actual oral work.

So here you will say, Dave, I noticed that you had said something on your paper on this thing here. What exactly do you mean by that. You give him encouragement because not only did he

> put it there, you've told him its good and you have corrected it. So he picks up something from his paper, someone says, 'I don't agree,' 'what you mean, you don't agree with me.' Slowly, this guy, he is not being confronted with an upstaging situation. He is now confronted with a peer-level challenge, not teacher standing out there and saying, okay Dave, you do this. But now its a peer who asks the question. So now he moves on the peer level. 'Well, I'm sorry about that but that's how I feel about it.' Now, oh, you are going to hear somebody here and here and here. Now because you have learned how to absorb all these things a question of analysis now becomes important because everybody is throwing something at you. You have to analyze it very quickly and throw it back at him. So once upon a time somebody who was a wallflower is now able to answer questions. That's one of the alternative tricks that you use.
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> Another alternative trick which is also interesting, the other thing we do, aside from the listening thing, is we have found out that all the educational systems that you have around have examinations. Most of them are true and false. So the kid just gets tired sitting there and [gestures as if haphazardly checking boxes on a piece of paper]. We've moved away from that. If you go to a class you find out that everything is written on the board. They have to write it in their notes. So we develop the ability to write and on top of that we tell them that this test here is going to be dependent on all the notes you took from March 1 to March 10, read it and you will be tested within this block. They are going to be tested, they have no choice but to go read it because they are going to write. That's another trick that we have.

The director concluded his discussion of "what makes CIP alternative" by focusing on the counseling and career orientation component of the program.

> Let's talk about the counseling area. There is more contact both scheduled and unscheduled. The population itself is not that large so that anonymity does not actually set in. We know the

> people. We see them and we talk to them constantly. The other part of it has to do with the whole idea of the career orientation, career development, the Hands-On component. The whole idea of the career report, the introduction into the various instruments which will provide the intern with some knowledge of the world of work. I am talking about the introduction to the Occupational Outlook Book, introduction to the Dictionary of Occupational Titles, how it's used and what you can refer in it and so forth.... Most of these people only know of jobs as found from job agencies and newspapers. But then there are several other areas where they can find jobs. The whole idea of the interview scene. What are the highlights which you have to present to the one interviewing you. All those things make it very much alternative. This whole bit about home visits makes it very much alternative. This whole bit about educating the parents pertaining to the school system, that makes it alternative. Our education program regarding the educational trips that we take and why we take those trips, that makes it alternative.

The conversation led directly into a discussion regarding the most important points of the program, the most important outcomes of the program, and significant interrelationships between them. The diploma, minimization of pressures, the goodwill of the staff, the buddy system, parent involvement, and relevant curriculum were considered some of the most important parts of the program.

> I think the most important part [of the program] is that the interns know that at the end of their studies here they will be able to get a diploma. The most important aspect is that the student can get his or her diploma, a bona fide diploma, here at a social service agency versus the school system which always had been that.
>
> Number two is the fact that the kind of pressure which the student is usually subjected to is minimized to a great extent. The third part of it is the style and I think the goodwill on the part of the staff and the effectiveness orientation which we put into it. Effectiveness against efficiency. You see in the school system, the person is accepted because he has the license and has gone through college for x number of years and the board of education has

certified him to be a teacher. Here, yes we go through all that process but we just don't end at the efficiency area. We don't say that because you've gone to school for four years, because you've done this, because you've done that, because you've done that, therefore you can do this. First you really have to understand what the program is all about and the uniqueness of it. The effectiveness. Someone is going to say, how do you prove the effectiveness. Effectiveness is where the instructors that we have here are willing to go beyond their level of expertise to provide auxiliary tutorial help to the intern after work. It's a dedication. It's a dedication. Dedication is sometimes too religious, I call it goodwill. The goodwill. One part of it is that.

The other part is the buddy system that we have here and the buddy system is that x number of students have a tendency to flock around a particular instructor or security guard or the maintenance person or whatever, wherever the vibrations are. With the result, when we are having certain difficulties in the classroom situation or whatever it is, we can always work through the buddies. Like 'hey man, we have this kind of system why don't you talk to your friend?'

The third part of it is where the parents are all very much involved and call in month by month [about the] educational process of their children. It provides them with the freedom to call to say 'my daughter is not coming to school because,' or to say, 'I noticed such and such a thing about my daughter, what seems to be the problem?' The parents are able to pick up the telephone and talk as against the school saying you got to come in so we talk. So I think those are the most effective parts of the program.

Other areas have to do with the kind of curriculum we have. The kind of curriculum is such that it is meaningful and relevant to the needs of the intern. Yes it is true that we have to go according to the educational requirements or the policy stipulated by the board of education, but we also are very sensitive to the fact that English is important yes--but how relevant is it to the student. I'm not saying to change all the books, I'm saying that whatever books they are reading, it should be something that would

> provide them with some sort of assistance in their day-to-day life. It's not enough to say that I read Keats. You have to relate it to the daily life.

The director pointed to the program's ability to influence intern attitudes in regard to the program's most significant outcomes. The director explained how the program influences intern attitudes without necessarily changing them. Manifest outcomes discussed also included: raising attendance, effective intern reasoning, and discipline.

> The most important outcome is that fact that we now have a completely different product vis-à-vis when the student was in the school system. Assistant principals and teachers who have visited us and have seen their very same kids wonder what we did with the kids. So there has been a complete attitudinal influence. I'm not calling it attitudinal change at this point. We have been able to influence their whole attitude toward a total attitudinal change. At this point I am not going to say the change is one hundred percent. We have been able to influence the change. The problem with what the social workers do is they're going to change you. They're not going to change anybody unless the people themselves decide that they are going to be changed.
>
> Okay, but you can influence the change. What we do here is to influence the change. Now how do we do it? We do it by looking at attitude, attitudinal change as a combination of two things--thinking about the change and feeling about the change. If we are able to influence the thinking of the intern on specific issues then we are able to influence their thinking of it, and their feeling of it. If we are influencing the thinking then we are able to change their feeling about certain situations--authority for instance.
>
> Let's take attendance. Some people just don't feel like that, 'well hey, I'm coming to school anyway. I came here 10 o'clock so what, big deal.' But the important thing is not that you came at 10 o'clock. The important thing is that because you came to school at 10 o'clock, you missed the first class and since you missed the first class, the tendency is that if you keep on

missing the first class you will never graduate. The second part of it is that the final basic competency examination--probably you may not be able to pass it Therefore you may not get the carrot--the diploma.

Now that is different from 'what are you talking about, I came to school at 10 o'clock, so what. I missed the bus ' 'listen guy, you want to be part of this school you going to be coming to school on time.' The board of education says that you suppose to be here 60%. I don't want to hear it. If you're not here 60% you will have to bring your mother and if it doesn't change you're gone.' So you have developed a situation where he already has picked up 'you're gone.' That was the last conclusion. So what is the big deal, I'm not the only person who dropped out. But the whole environment here is that we are dealing with--dropouts, we are dealing with those about to dropout. So you don't provide them with the ammunition to say heck with you. That's one outcome, we have been able to build up their attendance.

The second outcome that we have been able to provide these interns is their ability to reason effectively. Effective reasoning in the sense that they don't come up after all with certain street kinds of things. In our existence there are certain things which are called disciplines and these disciplines come in because there are certain rules and regulations that we have to abide by. There are certain kinds of demands that will be made of us. They are organizational demands and you have to live by them.

The third part of it, if you really want to get along in life, then you might as well begin to learn how to tolerate situations. You may not necessarily agree with the situations but you must learn how to tolerate them. With that kind of orientation about the facts of life as far as society living, they have been able to accept discipline. When they came in they fought it, there are no two ways about it. They fought the discipline. But now they understand if they want to be part of the game then they will have to play the game by the rules. Some came in with calcified attitudes like, 'Nobody's gonna run me out of this place.' But then there has been peer pressure. It's very simple, if this has happened downstairs, they find out that

> somebody did this thing and say "do you want to be kicked out of school? Surely you are going to be kicked out.' Well, that kind of peer pressure they have been able to accept. I've been able to get that kind of attitudinal influence that we're talking about.
>
> I think some of them have now matured. Let's take those who just felt that the whole thing is to get a diploma and stay home. They have found out that you don't have to do that, that there are other things more than the diploma. So even at the end when you are getting to June, to the diploma, where in the school system that's all you talk and think about, now they begin to talk, 'what do I do after this?' I would like to do, and I would like to do. So the whole process of thinking about this, it's all part of this effective reasoning process.

The discussion continued, focusing on program outcomes; however, the director began to explain how these outcomes are produced as a function of the dynamics of program's interrelationships. Outcomes included: a diploma, ideas about future emloyment, improved study habits, reading books, taking tests, improved grooming, and respect for property. These were not static outcomes, in fact, they were often a series of successive approximations or "carrots" to lead them to the next step.

> The question of the diploma becomes relevant to them and [the discussion of] attitudinal change because they know as long as they improve their attendance and do their work they are going to get their diploma anyway. When they come in, the first thing is the diploma. 'I'm going to get my diploma.' But just because you say you're going to get your diploma doesn't mean you get your diploma. You get a diploma because you studied for it and you studied for it because you were in classrooms to observe, listen, and all the rest. So if you use that part of it, you find out that, when they came in, they came in with a set of ideas. When they were in the program and we did our little treatment with them what happened was that the diploma is still there, it is still something you can get. But it's a reward because you did A, B, C, D, and that's exactly the way we want it. They also know that, after receiving this reward, it would hopefully give them employment and so forth. Maybe it didn't come right away, but we have

already done the process with them, that the alternatives will be to get a skill or to go into higher education. You don't have to hammer their heads anymore because they have already developed that type of reasoning process.

...The instruction itself, study habits. When they came into the program their study habits were very, very different. I remember very many times when I was driving in and I saw them coming in. They came in without any books. They just walked in, hats on, coats on, and they came in without any book. If you walk through the classroom they sit there without any books. If you give them those [learning] packets, as long as you give it to them right there and then, they have them. They get up and walk away, they forget that you gave it to them.

Now what has happened, what outcomes have we found here? Now you can see them carrying their books and you also see them in the lunch room reading on their own, in the resource center reading on their own, on the stairwell reading on their own. Why? Because Mr. _____ said that we are going to be tested on these things from day x to the other date. 'I want to do well, and the only way I can do well is to read my books and study the notes. So if the test is going to be in three days, I cannot do all those studies here.' So he has no choice but to go home with his books, his notes in it. Go learn and come in and do the work. Something that they didn't have when they came. In fact, it was boredom to them to carry the books to school, number one. Number two, you're not going to stay in the classroom anyway. You're going to hang around and then go back and if you stayed in the school you go to the gym or to the dining room and just go drink beer and listen to records anyway, so why bring the books, who are you kidding?

There was no need to carry a book, but now there is a need to carry a book. The question is, how did you develop the need? The need has come because, once upon a time as I said, the educational system, as far as review or evaluation of what a person had learned were found in true and false questions. It's no more like that, now you have to write. So it's easier for them to keep on reviewing what they have written. This whole business of review and emphasis, review

> and emphasis, repetition, constant repetition kind of thing. They now developed it so it's very easy since they go and pick up a book and pick up their notes and read. Its very easy for them to go to the library and pick up a book and read. So what it has done, one of the outcomes is that we have increased their study habits.
>
> Another outcome is the need to be presentable in personal-grooming. The dress code provides a situation whereby they could understand why grooming is so necessary vis-à-vis the whole situation of 'that's the culture.' In other words, if you're Black you have to look mean, nasty, and things like that so that people will accept you. If its hair its got to look like this [points to hair as if pulling it in an outward direction in strands]. But we have told them, 'that's good for the neighborhood but it's not at the job scene, not good enough at the job scene, because the job scene has a particular kind of decorum while if you have to work, then that's what you have to do.' I'm not saying that it was easy, it took awhile.
>
> One of the outcomes they have received is respect for property. Respect for property. The fact that this place is void of graffiti is not that they don't have pens and pencils and the rest of it. They do. But now they understand that this is our place, and it is our place because that's what the peers, not the boss, the authority people say, that's what the peers say. 'Man, don't mess it up, that's our place.' So those are some of the outcomes.

The interview with the director concluded with a discussion of his leadership technique. This director has been considered one of the best directors of all the programs by sponsors, disseminators, managers, other program directors, and the evaluators. This assessment is based on his record of high program attendance, consistently high quality staff and curriculum, intern behavior, reports, and a variety of other indices. Charismatic qualities, manageability, and a dedication to the program are three of the most important characteristics of an effective director--according to the program directors and the evaluators. This exchange with a successful and prominent director serves to illuminate and personalize some of these criteria. Many of his techniques, such as management by objectives, can be found in any textbook on management; other techniques, such as fighting complacency, are more subtle and individualistic.

The formal technique that I have used specifically has been management by objectives. It is management by objectives in the sense that everybody here, the entire staff, knows about the objectives of the program. Number two, that they also know specifically the goals that are expected of them to accomplish and when. Number three has been the liberty to increase innovation. There has not been any situation where we say you should replicate the program this way. We have not said you are not going to replicate the program, but we have also looked at the prototype vis-à-vis the constraints of using its format as against using another innovative system which would provide the program with a better success. The adaptation.

What do I mean? For instance, we found the Philadelphia packets very, very limited and we decided, although the prototype never said that you should use books and the rest of it, we decided that it was constricting so we would use the books. The teachers have all kinds of liberties to experiment in anything whatsoever in the classroom.

The important aspect here, in setting up your objectives and the rest of it, has been the action process. And the action process is trying to constantly review what is going on in the classroom, checking if this is going on in the classroom. And it has been the area where I am definitely interested in seeing lesson plans. Copies of lesson plans, and the copies of lesson plans provide me with the knowledge of what is going to go on in the classroom this week. What will go on on Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, whatever it is. So when I go to the classroom (I observe the classes constantly) I like to hear something about what you said you would do according to your plan. With that kind of result, I have been able to consistently monitor the instructional process which is actually going on in the classroom situation.

The other part of it has been discipline which is realistic. There are certain kinds of policies which have not been effective because they are not enforceable and we don't do those things just for the sake of doing them. If the policy is not working and after we review it and we find out that there are really definite operational difficulties in them, we change those policies.

Some of the policies that I establish here to a lot of people who have not experienced management by forms, felt that I was trying to document things against them. Everything that we do in this organization here we do through forms--operating with forms. And the forms are very simple. You yourself get a visual immediate kind of information as to how you are operating. It is a check and balance kind of situation. The whole thing is printed out and you actually see what events are being accomplished and why and what are some of the things that you need to accomplish for that particular event.

The other part of it has been no-nonsense management and the no-nonsense management system, based on my concern about how effective our program is becoming. The way I did it is to concentrate on the programmatic objectives. I have myself some sort of ratio which I operated by, 85 percent of every staff's concern should be focused on the program. Ten percent, I agree, goes into staff problems. The five percent, jiving around if you want to, cause people are going to jive around.

Now with the result that when we meet--meetings--our major concerns have been what, how, and in what respects are we going to collectively provide input for the program's success. I have not encouraged too many personal, independent, individual, personal problems which they have somehow translated as program problems. Some of the personal problems that individuals may have include an area like, 'I live too far away from the program site. Therefore, whilst you expect that I should be here by 8:30, I want to understand that I will not be able to get here by 9:30. I will be able to get here maybe 9 or 9:30 because I live too far away.' I have not allowed that to destroy the program's thrust. If you know you live too far away then its up to you to leave the house early. You see, I'm not going to sit down and say that you live too far away, therefore its alright when you come in late, because by coming in late an intern is being short-changed.

The second aspect has been that, in the past, because of probably not developing a process-action to program-operation sequence, some people have just been complacent. I have not allowed complacency in the program because I believe in my heart that as soon as you allow complacency to breed into your program, the program starts atrophying. The way we did it was to take a functional inventory about the expertise of individuals here and expand it to program provisions. Somebody who walked in here as a counselor, I found out that person has expertise in economics. He or she didn't do just counseling and walked away. That person also taught economics. In other words, my area is not only saying that the tasks are, 'cause from the job description it tells you your duties or tasks.

I don't think we could have supplied this program optimum service or time if we had just confined ourselves to the task which we were supposed to do by title--counselor. In order for us to reduce boredom and increase our functional ability, what we did was, 'Oh, you are here as a counselor but in your educational area, what other areas do you have strengths.' 'Well, my strengths are in math.' Fine. Then what you do is give us help in math. So we have somebody who is a counselor teaching physical education, doing math, and still counseling. You are not going to have any time for yourself during the day to go through boredom where you move from one cubicle to another cubicle just conversing because you have too much time on your hands. Its done in a very subtle way.

X. SOCIAL MOBILITY AND THE TRANSMISSION OF BLACK MIDDLE-CLASS VALUES AND LATENT FUNCTIONS

The Career Intern Program serves both manifest and latent functions. The fundamental purpose of the program is to help individuals "become employable and able to lead successful lives." The study thus far has focused primarily on the manifest functions of the program, e.g., enabling students to complete high school and receive a high school diploma (rather than a General Education Diploma), improving basic reading and math skills, and enhancing career planning and occupational knowledge among students. The analysis has also briefly discussed some of the latent functions of program components. For example, it was mentioned that late passes were used to get interns to class on time (a manifest function), but were also used to teach interns the importance of authority and punctuality (a latent function).

This chapter focuses on three interrelated latent functions of the CIP.

- It contributes to the upward mobility of lower socioeconomic class young people (especially minorities, who are disproportionately represented in the dropout and unemployment statistics).
- It acculturates lower-socioeconomic-status students into the middle-class value scheme typified by the "world of work."
- It offers itself as a basis for social identity.

The relationships among these latent functions are those of: mechanism, vehicle, and goal. Contributing to the upward social mobility of lower socioeconomic status Blacks and other minority groups represents the goal. Inculcating disenfranchised groups with middle-class values represents the vehicle for reaching the goal. Offering the CIP as a basis for social identity represents the mechanism that enables the program to transmit middle-class world-of-work values. The conventional (urban) high school has the same manifest goals as the CIP and uses many of the same tools and processes to attain them. The difference is primarily one of latent goals.

Schools as Socializing Institutions: The Typical Mechanisms, Vehicles, and Goals

Schools typically are transmitters of culture in its present form--not an idealized future form. These institutions serve to prepare students to enter specific available roles in a highly stratified society (Ogbu, 1978). Contrary to the commonly held assumption that schools typically "maximize social equality by promoting equal opportunity," Brookover and Erickson (1975) demonstrate that schools maximize social stratification by serving as the mechanism by which individuals are initially sorted and allocated to positions in the highly differentiated and stratified labor force.

The myth of education--public or private--is that it is neutral. This myth is furthered by a substantial portion of the educational literature, which is premised on the assumption that schools are able to sort out individual differences in a neutral and objective fashion (Harvard Educational Review, 1968; McMurrin, 1971). In fact, the plethora of common educational practices such as testing, grading, and ranking students are used to demonstrate the objectivity of the pursuit.

The educators who use these tools, however, are people--cultural beings operating in a cultural context. The literature highlights this basic fact by demonstrating that they have high or low expectations for students that are based on the child's membership in a given social class or ethnic group--rather than on "merit" (Brophy & Good, 1970; Leacock, 1969; Rist, 1970). Because of these expectations, teachers typically socialize students differentially for work roles that match their perceptions of the student's (parents') social class.

The center stage for this human drama is the classroom. Skills in self-presentation are acquired in the classroom. These skills are related to work-role characteristics at various levels of the hierarchical division of labor. There are specific traits, speech patterns, and ways of presenting oneself that correspond with each level of the job hierarchy (Goffman, 1959). Bowles and Gintis (1976) emphasize the role of education as a vehicle for transmitting "manners of speech and demeanor more or less socially acceptable and appropriate" to a given level in the labor force (p. 141).

The importance of specific skills in self-presentation is emphasized by Bowles and Gintis (1976). Their summary of the literature indicates the importance of various personality factors such as "one's relationship to authority" at various levels of the labor hierarchy. They rate this particular variable as a more critical factor associated with educational achievement and satisfactory work performance than cognitive ability as defined by IQ tests.

Meyer (1970) suggests self-image is another important dimension related to the presentation of self that schools use to prepare students for future work roles. A review of the literature in the area supports this contention--that schools strongly contribute to students' self-image in a manner that corresponds to anticipated future roles (see Meyer, 1970, and Bennett & Cobb, 1972, for detailed discussion of the subject).

Kohn (1967) provides a useful classification scheme and mechanism for organizing the labor market job hierarchy. His conceptualization provides a framework for explaining how schools socialize students into various slots in the hierarchy. He classifies jobs as ranging from high to low. Internal and external pressures or cues represent the mechanism used to create (and distinguish between) the two types. The higher level jobs are characterized by employees who internalize norms consistent with the organization. This is consistent with Reisman, Denny, and Glazer's (1961) and Whyte's (1956) work on the other-directed personality and the organization man, respectively. Lower level jobs are characterized by external requirements, rules, regulations, and routines. Workers at the lower end of the hierarchy, according to Kohn, are trained and expected to accept the direction of external authority. Individuals employed at the higher levels are trained and expected to demonstrate "independent judgment" based on internalized values and drives that correspond with a given organization. This paradigm is further supported by other studies reported in the literature (Gintis, 1971; Bowles & Gintis, 1976; Edwards, 1976).

Schools train individuals to develop and respond to internal and external cues. Working class schools generally use "externally imposed methods" of motivating students to behave in ways that teachers consider appropriate. Socialization for higher level roles, on the other hand, involves teaching students to internalize and identify with the norms so as to be "self-directing" (Wilcox, 1978).

Black Middle Class

There is a Black middle class that is superficially distinct from white middle class in American culture. This is essentially a function of institutional racism in the United States. Moreover, there is a new Black middle class as compared with Frazier's Black bourgeois of the forties and fifties. Frazier, in Black Bourgeois, wrote of "a world of make believe" where Blacks hid to "conceal the feelings of inferiority and insecurity and the frustration that haunt[ed] their inner lives" (1957, p. 213). This world was filled with myths, illusions, exaggerations, and "status without substance." Black "society" received special attention by Frazier because it epitomized the Black bourgeoisie. Society was characterized by a life of conspicuous consumption, debutante balls, "chauffeured" Cadillac cars, a preoccupation with "society" columns, and wives in mink coats that "drip[ped] with diamonds." Frazier spoke of this group with much disdain, explaining that

> The activities of "society" serve to differentiate the black bourgeoisie from the masses of poorer Negroes and at the same time compensate for the exclusion of the black bourgeoisie from the larger white community. However, the behavior and standards of consumption which are maintained by "society" generally lack the

> economic base which such activities presuppose. "Society" thus provides one of the main escapes from the world of reality into a world of make believe. (1957, p. 195)

This world continues to operate. Prominent Blacks can be observed at various social functions, at prestigious gatherings, wearing similar apparel behaving in what Frazier referred to as a "carnival spirit." The Black press perpetuates this "world of make believe" for the Black bourgeoisie today. Various Black leaders have chastised their members for this type of preoccupation. In fact, Leon Sullivan has recently ridiculed this faction of his own organization, reminding them of their "humble origins."

There is, however, a new Black middle class that has been shaped by the civil rights marches of the fifties and sixties as well as prominent Black models, such as Martin Luther King, Stokely Carmichael, Eldridge Cleaver, Jessie Jackson, Ralph Abernathy, Gil Scott Heron, among others. This generation has rejected much of this "world of make believe." They are proud of being Black in contrast to the Black bourgeoisie. They do not experience the same feelings of insecurity as the Black bourgeoisie because they do not feel inferior to whites. They do not carry the oppressive burden of self hatred and guilt feelings displayed by the last generation. The new Black middle class embraces their cultural heritage and history. Ladner reported in the early seventies that

> The black middle class is undergoing a state of transition. Black identity, political and social consciousness, a greater sense of intellectual curiosity, and a pride in the African ancestral heritage certainly distinguish today's Black middle class from the Black Bourgeoisie over which Frazer lamented. (Ebony, 1973, p. 44)

The new middle class has been influenced by Black bourgeoisie behavior; however, this brief description represents the dominent strand of the new Black middle class. This class in combination with the Black intelligentsia are responsible for the operation of the Career Intern Program. (Some of the conflicts and series of mis-communications described earlier between the CIP and the local affiliates are a function of the differences between the new Black middle class and the Black bourgeoisie.)

These groups are an American phenomenon and as such follow the same general pattern of behavior. The underlying value system of the white middle class, the Black bourgeoisie, and the new Black middle class are the same. They are all middle class values manifested in different ways. The white middle class represents the work ethic model. Frazier's Black bourgeoisie represented a partial imitation and overcompensation of the middle class. The new Black middle class is guided by the work model; however, they translate these rules in a fashion that reflects their ethnic and cultural traditions. The manner in which the middle class work ethic value system is communicated to dropouts is critical. The new Black middle class image appears to be the most positively received and most effective manner of transmitting these values to the dropout population. Nevertheless, the underlying value system as discussed above are essentially the same. The term middle class values, therefore, will be used throughout the remainder of this discussion.

CIP as a Socializing Institution: The Middle Class

Typically, students are socialized for work roles based on staff perceptions of students' (or their parents') social-class background. Generally, students are socialized into the same social class as their parents. The CIP also socializes interns for work roles; however, in this case, staff perceptions of the interns' social class background serves as an impetus to alter the pattern. Contrary to the typical pattern of socialization, interns in the CIP are socialized into middle class values system.

Social class is determined by objective and subjective criteria. Objectively the term is derived from Warner, Meeher, and Eells' (1960) classification system which includes: level of education, occupation, income, and quality of residence. Subjectively the term middle class is derived from the individual's selected reference group that serves as a model for their behavior. This study combines these criteria in reference to the use of the term middle class. The term is not used to refer to any positive or negative connotations that may be associated with the term.

The program serves as an instrument by which individuals are sorted and allocated to positions in the highly stratified labor force with a bias toward middle class positions. Staff personnel are not neutral in their objective. They label interns positively and maintain high expectations in order to help them "claim their fair share" of the economic pie. Career counseling seminars (CCS) emphasize the importance of self-presentation skills related to middle class work roles. Counseling and the CCS, as well as other classes, are designed to instill positive self-image in the interns. This acculturation process is conducted in a "supportive" manner that encourages interns to seek middle-class job positions in the labor hierarchy. Career roles and relationships to authority are thoroughly discussed in terms of middle class work-role expectations. Finally, the program prepares interns for the middle class world of work by teaching them to internalize norms consistent with the program. This education prepares interns to occupy a position in the job hierarchy that requires exercising independent judgment within the limits imposed by middle class value systems.

How Does It Happen: The Vehicle

The OIC/A philosophy and ideology are premised on the work ethic as discussed earlier. This philosophy/ideology is extended to the local OICs and the CIPs to guide program practice as demonstrated.

Implicit in the mainstream American work ethic adopted by OIC/A are middle class values--values that generate behavior and are characterized by such traits as:

- future orientation and planning
- punctuality and appearance
- hard work, with emphasis on competencies
- delayed gratification
- pride in one's work

The CIP embodies these values in its philosophy and transmits them through its core support components.

Future Orientation and Planning. The design of the entire program emphasizes the importance of planning for one's future. Interns are expected to prepare Career Development Plans (CDP)--with the assistance of their counselors--at the beginning of the program. They establish goals (career objectives) to be accomplished within a given time framework. The CDP is a road map made to chart the intern's future. As such, it emphasizes the importance of planning for future roles (in employment). Encouraging interns to accept the responsibility to "follow through" with their plans represents one of the means by which they are taught to internalize and identify with the norms and requirements of an organization. This prepares interns to be "self-directing" within the program context and, later, in employment.

Career counseling and CCSs are concerned with career planning. The emphasis on career education is significant in itself. The term "career" itself connotes a higher level job in the labor hierarchy--one that is associated with significant skill development and a long-term personal commitment. This connotation is significant and recognized by various educational leaders (Marland, cited in Gibboney Associates, 1977) and by interns who compare their temporary jobs with their career objectives.

The CCS requires two reports, each researching a different career field. These reports are based on fields selected by interns. Conducting the research for these reports and learning about the career requirements demonstrates the significance of researching and planning the steps required to accomplish one's objectives. In addition, these activities serve to reinforce the value orientation of addressing oneself to the future.

The Hands-On experience serves to approximate the long-range objectives of employment in a career--"a goal to be worked for," according to one counselor. The Hands-On also serves to provide reinforcement along the way towards graduation, employment, or advanced training or education. It offers a concrete incentive by making it "real;" interns report being encouraged to "keep going," to continue with their long-range plans, or to reassess their objectives after completing their Hands-On experiences.

The learning packets represent the central feature of the individualized curriculum. They cover the core subjects of English, social studies, math, science, and career awareness and planning. The packets are organized in a building-block fashion--each lesson builds on the one that preceded it in terms of basic information and complexity. Interns complete the packets at their own pace; however, they must devise their own strategies for completing them within the allotted time period. The implicit function in such a sequentially designed program is internalized self-discipline. It aims the intern at the future and provides a map to the ultimate destination. The responsibility to complete the lesson (to learn) rests with the intern.

The fused curriculum serves to tie the immediate experience in the classroom to future employment. Simply by creating this link throughout instruction the intern routinely receives encouragement regarding his/her ability to enter specific roles. The intern's ability to fill these roles becomes an assumption in the program. This aspect of the program demonstrates how the specific lessons represent tools or sets of tools required to reach one's goals.

Finally, role playing and other instructional devices are used to teach interns specific self-presentation skills for interviews or future employment. These skills include: the importance of punctuality, cleanliness, appropriate apparel, and taking the initiative to solve a given problem according to an internalized set of rules. Role-playing may involve an employer congratulating an employee for taking the initiative to work late and finish an important task or a father reprimanding his son for not cleaning up the yard and taking the garbage out when he knew it had to be done.

Punctuality and appearance. The maintenance system of the program provides the most direct means of transmitting the middle-class values of punctuality and appearance. A variety of other components, however, also serves to impress upon the intern the importance of these values.

Late passes are used to remind interns of the importance of getting to class on time. The more important latent function they serve, however, is to teach interns the significance of punctuality and authority. The program's career orientation places special emphasis on the significance of time in relation to work.

The sequential presentation of the learning packets, the development of the CDP, the sequencing of instruction, the orderly fashion in which interns are told how to prepare for and research career fields, and the Hands-On experience all serve to emphasize the concept of time as a finite quantity to be used efficiently or wasted. Straying from the self-imposed time schedules for completing an assignment or the sequence of phases in the program "costs" the intern and serves to provide a negative reinforcement for such behavior. Completing assignments or sequences of phases according to plans receives such positive reinforcements as good grades, compliments, permission to go on the Hands-On experience, and graduation. This reinforcement facilitates the development of an internal clock. As one instructor pointed out: "If they expect a few strokes they've got to earn them."

CCS, counseling sessions, and assemblies explicitly emphasize the importance of being on time for school, employment interviews, and daily employment. CCS instructors emphasize the significance of punctuality on the job in role playing and rap sessions by comparing, for example, what happens to the routinely late employee as opposed to the punctual employee "when raises and promotions come by." They also discuss the importance of punctuality and appearance in terms of self-presentation skills and elements contributing to one's self-image. Counselors often accompany interns to Hands-On experiences to make sure they arrive on time and to impress upon them the importance of a punctual arrival.

The maintenance system mentioned earlier represents one of the most important mechanisms for teaching interns to internalize middle-class norms regarding appearance. "No hats in the building" is one of the rules that stands out across the sites. The purpose is to prepare interns for the world of work--where big Borsolinis and wool caps "turn employers off." One staff member explained "You can't wear that to an interview.... They tell us, 'If I take this off, half of me is left.' They don't realize it yet but that's the half of them they're gonna have to leave behind." One site prohibits interns from wearing sneakers because it presents the "wrong image" to employers. "Loud" clothing is subtly and indirectly frowned upon (with stern eye-to-eye contact, disapproving comments, joking insults, and straightforward requests to alter the apparel). Staff members enforce these rules whether in class or in the hallways, thereby reinforcing "the message."

The CCSs places a strong emphasis on the proper or appropriate presentation of self for interviews or future employment. The clothing interns wear to class and the attitudes they display in the program are discussed in CCS and group counseling sessions. Interns are requested to comment on something they like or dislike about the intern next to them during CCS. The following set of remarks are typical of those made by the older interns: "I don't like your attitude" (to a new intern with a chip on his shoulder), "I don't like your hat" (to an intern wearing a cowboy hat in class), "I wish the men would shower after working out," "I am not talking to you because I waited an hour for you last night and you didn't show up," "I like your shoes" (shiny new, expensive leather shoes). These comments evidence an internalization of values regarding "correct attitudes," appearance, hygiene, and punctuality. These same interns after class confessed they were "the same way... with those same attitudes...and those big old hats...and I'd never be nowhere on time, you know what I mean?" The negative consequences of overdressing for a given job are also discussed in some detail.

The CCS and small group counseling sessions are also held to impress upon the interns the significance of maintaining certain personal hygiene standards. During the last site visit at one of the programs the men were placed on one side of the cafeteria and the women on the other to discuss specific grooming and personal hygiene habits. Detailed attention was paid to maintaining such practices as daily bathing, deodorant, feminine hygiene, brushing teeth and seeing a dentist regularly, care of hair, clothing, and so on. Personal grooming habits, it was stressed, "are a matter of respect for the people around you" as well as "for the job interview." The emphasis in this regard is on establishing and maintaining the appropriate self-presentation for one's anticipated (middle class) role.

Hard work, competencies, delayed gratification, and pride in one's work. Hard work, the development of competencies or skills, delayed gratification, and taking pride in one's work represent the bedrock of middle class values or the work ethic. The program adopts the general OIC manpower-training focus on the development of skills, but stresses the development of career exploration skills rather than vocational skills.

The CDP, the fused curriculum, and the two CCS career research reports demonstrate the importance of learning skills and developing competencies to accomplish one's objectives of entering and pursuing a career. Developing these skills, counselors stress, requires "diligence and perseverance." In addition, developing those skills requires "sacrifice." Counselors report periodically "sitting an intern down and telling him you can't be just partying all the time...or just hanging out. You've got to think about your future, five-ten years from now. You've got to make a choice what kind of life is it gonna be?" One staff member reported that "most of them we don't have to tell them to make that decision, they already have. That's why they're here. They just need some help sticking with it and learning what it's all about."

The basis for the decision to enter the program varies from intern to intern. Once in the program however, interns learn to internalize the value of delayed gratification. Developing the CDP, completing the classroom assignments, writing the two CCS reports, and so on all help interns accept the value of delayed gratification, which in turn enables them to go to Hands-On, earn a diploma, and pursue a career.

Many of the program components implicitly teach the value of hard work. Interns learn through the CDP how many courses are required before they can go to Hands-On and graduate. Courses teach interns to expect reports, assignments, tests, and plain hard work to receive credit for the course. Researching careers informs interns of the years of education or apprenticeship required to pursue a given career. The selection of a career, after having researched the requirements, itself represents an internalization of the need for hard work to reach one's goal.

Counselors and instructors have been observed routinely encouraging interns to display talents or praising interns for "jobs well done" in an attempt to reinforce the behavior and encourage interns to take pride in their work. The Intern Formalized Assessment is used primarily to monitor intern progress; however it also serves to encourage interns to "keep up the good work." This also contributes to interns' taking pride in their work. One intern remarked, "for the first time in a long time I'm doing great." Interns discuss freely their desire to take pride in their work or profession. Many interns come into the program with a distaste for wrong (illegal) types of (illegal) professions; however a larger number develop a definite stance against illegal professions only after they have identified a "respected" career for themselves in the program. One intern ready for a change who had found a "respectable" career to pursue through CCS was absolutely convinced that "nobody wants to be a robber, nobody wants to be a dope pusher, nobody wants to be a leader of white slavery."

The overall philosophical aim is drawn from the parent organization as discussed earlier--to help people help themselves. This is accomplished at the CIP by teaching interns the value of hard work, developing competencies, delayed gratification, and taking pride in one's work--the basic elements of the middle class world-of-work value scheme.

The Quasi-Total Institution Effect: The Mechanism

The program's operation is as dependent on the intern's willingness to attend and learn as on the functioning of the program components. Most interns, like most youth today "are neither psychological adolescents or sociological adults...they are in a stage of life that lacks any clear definition" (Daner, 1976) Interns are in a "liminal" stage where, according to Turner's (1969) definition, they "pass through a cultural realm that has few or none of the attributes of the past or coming state"--they are in a state Turner (1964a) refers to as "betwixt and between."

Many interns come into the program ready for a change. Staff and interns alike report that most interns are looking for attention, direction, and a means of fulfilling these needs. This is one of the most important reasons they attend the program. Once in the program, committed to continue coming and learning, it is possible for the staff to transmit middle class, world-of-work values. One mechanism implicitly employed by the CIP that enables interns to achieve their objectives is referred to here as the "quasi-total institution effect."

This mechanism closely resembles some of the salient features of the total institution (Goffman, 1961). However, there are also some fundamental differences between the two. Goffman defines the total institution "as a place of residence and work where a number of like situated individuals, cut off from the wider society for an appreciable period of time, together lead an enclosed formally administered round of life."

The CIP is not a place of residence and interns are not cut off from the wider society for an appreciable period of time. However, the CIP is a place where a number of like-situated individuals lead a partially enclosed, formally administered round of life. In addition, interns are "cut off" from the wider society for appreciable segments of time; several hours a day, five days a week. The specific differences between the CIP and Goffman's total institution include:

- Most rather than all aspects of school life are conducted in the same place and under the same single set of authorities.
- Most phases of daily school activity are carried on in the immediate company of a large group of others, all on one level, treated alike, and required to do the same thing together.
- Most phases of the school day's activities are tightly scheduled by administration--with intern feedback--rather than exclusively from above by a system of explicit formal rulings and a body of officials.
- The various enforced activities are brought together into a rational plan designed to fill the official aims of the individual and the institution.

One of the basic purposes of a total institutional setting is to "allow its members a well defined structural and ideological situation into which they can fit themselves" (Daner, 1976). The CIP serves that purpose--albeit not in as encompassing a manner as a religious communal group. The CIP, like Daner's description of an ISKCON temple also

> provides formal rites, positive identifications and models and an ideology...[which] can also help resolve some of the conflicts of the youth stage on the sides of trust, autonomy, initiative, industry, identity, intimacy, generativity, and integrity. (p. 12)

The CIP offers interns a well defined structural situation. There are many ways in which the program provides this kind of definition and structure. One of the most basic means of providing this type of experience is by assisting the intern develop a CDP to chart the route to reach his or her goals. Interns are informed of the number of credits they are required to complete to finish each phase, to participate in the Hands-On experience, and to graduate. Counselors give interns class schedules to direct their daily pattern of behavior. Interns are informed of "what is expected of them" in terms of sociocultural competencies. Many of the program features discussed in detail earlier also serve to provide interns with an understanding of the sociocultural competencies expected of them, e.g., the maintenance system, CCS, counseling, assemblies, group counseling sessions, and daily instruction.

The CIP also offers interns a well defined ideological context. Ideology, as discussed earlier, provides a guiding force or theme for interns to follow--providing a sense of coherence in their school life. The CIP philosophy is an extension of the OIC/A philosophy/ideology--to "help people help themselves." This work-ethic doctrine expressed in a caring and supportive context and a career exploration orientation provides interns with a well defined ideological context "into which they can fit themselves." This ideological context is all encompassing, as documented earlier, ranging from providing a supportive context to the nature of instruction and learning itself.

Staff members at each of the sites suggest interns come to the program for attention as much as any reason. One of the program secretaries commented in this regard:

> Sometimes you have to shoo them away, back to their classes...they'll just keep talking' and playing with things, you know, that they're not supposed to. Not because they're bad. They're good kids, young adults.... They just want the attention, they want somebody to show them, you know, that they care.

The program as a quasi-total institution serves to provide interns with attention, affiliation, a focused identity, and a direction. Intern comments indicate they are receiving the attention they are seeking. "They listen to you...if you've got a problem with your [school] work or even you know, at home." This environment also generates an atmosphere that is conducive to developing friendships. The environment, particularly the small size of the program, also forces interns to extend common courtesy to each other--courtesies they would not normally display among their peers.

Some of the interns display a highly developed sense of affiliation--using CIP as a basis for social identity.

> We are all together here as one body and all one group. We all is friends together. We're mostly like family here.... It's like our own little community here you know.

This represents one of the most charactersitic forms of the quasi-total institution effect.

Finally, interns display a sense of purpose and commitment in the program--proudly discussing their career goals and their new-found direction.

Rituals: Rites of Solidarity and Rites of Passage

One of the most common elements of a sociocultural system is a set of communal rites or rituals. CIP as a sociocultural system also has communal rites. (See Burnett, 1976, for a discussion of ceremonies and rites in the student system of an American high school.) These rites represent the foundation of the quasi-total institution effect. Harris (1971) defines the nature of communal rites.

> Communal rites fall into two major categories: (1) rites of solidarity and (2) rites of passage. In the rites of solidarity participation in dramatic public rituals enhances the sense of group identity, coordinates the actions of the individual members of the group, and prepares the group for immediate or future cooperative action. Rites of passage celebrate the sociological movement of individuals into and out of groups or into or out of statuses of critical importance both to the individual and to the community.

Rites of solidarity. The CIP has a variety of rites of solidarity. Student council elections represent one of the most common rites of solidarity. During elections the sites buzz with excitement. Committees form, interns work on posters and slogans, interns discuss who is the most popular, the most likely to win, the best candidate, and candidates make their speeches, and the entire intern body votes. Slogans and speeches often express why a candidate is best for CIP, rarely make any promises, and generally make some vague reference to future cooperative action, e.g., school trips or discos.

The financial committee conducts its ritual bake sales to try to raise money for the student body. A flurry of activities precedes any sale. Members must meet and plan out their task. Interns are asked if they would bake something to sell at the bake sale. Posters are made up and displayed throughout the building. Phone calls are made by the interns the night before to "make sure everything's alright." Booths are set up and interns are encouraged to contribute to help raise money for trips or the prom.

Some of the sites have periodic basketball games or other sports events, which serve to bring "the entire program together." At one site, the staff played against the interns. Everyone playing wore CIP T-shirts. Several individuals assumed formal cheerleading roles while the majority of the program participants in attendance displayed their involvement in the event by loud booing and cheering. After the game was over, everyone was talking about when the next one would be arranged.

A fight broke out towards the end of the game between two interns; however, it did not significantly detract from the event. In fact, after inquiring about the reason for the altercation the event proved to be extremely illuminating. One of the newer (gang-affiliated) interns was talking about taking over the program and one of the older (first cohort) interns felt it was necessary to let him (and his group) know that they were not going to take over their (the first cohort's) program. The protective stance, the degree of affiliation and loyalty to the program, and the nature of the undercurrents in the intern world could not have been more clearly demonstrated. Later, after "having it out" these two became reasonably good friends. This type of behavior is also classified as a rite of solidarity against a threat.

The single most identifiable communal rite of solidarity is "CIP-is-HIP" days. CIP-is-HIP day is a complex affair that is celebrated or performed somewhat differently at each site. The ritual began in one program and because of its popularity among participants and external observers was diffused to the other sites. The typical CIP-is-HIP day at one site involves participating in meetings and discussing preparations, e.g., making a meal for the interns or interns making a meal for the staff; determining categories for awards, e.g., best attendance, most talkative, best personality, teacher's pet, always on time, enthusiastic about CIP, likely to succeed, class participation, leadership ability, always late, and sleeping in class; posting the names of individuals with their "awards,"; joking about the awards; arguing about the awards; and generally getting involved in the excitement.

The instructional supervisor at this site explained how excited the interns were on CIP-is-HIP day: "We're going to have CIP-is-HIP day next week. Now that has been the single overriding innovation of interns, they seem to like that activity better than any other." The instructional supervisor also explained more about how it works, how it can be used to improve attendance, and how it helped recruitment when the staff organized the day.

> We give recognition to interns who are just about any category. And they really like that and the last one, the last one that we had, the second cohort came in, and the attendance was better than the first cohort. You know, they came in while we're having CIP-is-HIP day and that spread the publicity about the program ...and the enthusiasm that things were going on.... So we're going to have another one real soon and we must instead of letting so many go by.

Rituals of solidarity bring the program "together." Staff and interns are given more of an opportunity to get to know each other personally and, in the process, the communal ritual serves to establish a bond that links everyone together as a member of the group. These rituals represent the vehicle for producing and maintaining a "little community."

Rites of passage. Rites of passage are conducted in various ways at the CIP. Moving from one term to the next marks a rite of passage for some interns. The staff and the interns recognize the difference between the "old" and the "new" interns and the transition is considered significant.

When an intern dramatically alters his or her attitude or academic performance, the event is commemorated with a minor rite of passage. The intern may be placed on the honor role or given a specific CIP-is-HIP award or interns may give the individual a nickname, and so on. The most significant rite of passage that the program offers is, however, graduation.

Interns emphasize throughout the entire program that "your first responsibility to yourself is to get your diploma--that's the purpose for coming." Interns recognize the difference between passing an equivalency examination and getting a real diploma--both in terms of personal self-worth and employment--and they are in the program to earn the diploma. As one intern explained: "I knew a long time ago about the GED, but I wanted a high school diploma." Many also refer to this experience as their "last chance." Parents are concerned about their children's progress in school, as one intern describes, "[My mother] always went to school, never too many absences, and then when she saw my attendance records she almost fainted."

Interns are very much aware of their parents' concern and this concern serves as a prime motivation for participating in the program. One intern put it simply: "All my mother's asking for is a diploma. I think I can do that much for her. She put herself aside to do something for me, so the least I can do is get a diploma."

The graduation ceremony marks the transition from young adult to adult for many, from dropout to success for others, and from dropout or "potential dropout" to high school graduate to the employment community or post-secondary educational institution. The OIC/A News (1979) captures the importance of this rite of passage: "The CIP graduation ceremony, it is worth noting, is taken very seriously by parents and interns. It is a cap on a genuine achievement, and the ceremony affirms that."

The focus of the program is to transmit middle class values; however, this is not accomplished at the cost of one's ethnic identity, as was the case in assimilatory education programs in the early part of this century (Cubberly, 1909). The staff recognize the importance of maintaining ethnic pride and heritage; however, they recognize that the dominant thrust of the program is to teach interns how to function in the middle class world-of-work. One instructor explained it in the following manner: "There is an appropriate way to dress and behave at work; it's like wearing two suits, one at home and one at work."

Interns are aware of the program's role in this home-work dichotomization process and learn to compartmentalize their lives in this fashion. The maintenance of ethnic pride is fostered through various means in the program, e.g., classroom discussions and assignments. Interns display partially synthesized value systems in linguistic and behavioral modes, e.g., code switching (Gumperz, 1976)--interweaving both street and CIP (middle class) speech and behavior. Finally, the fact that interns retain and take pride in their ethnic identity and cultural heritage within the context of the program is most poignantly displayed in intern poetry.

The Black Rose

I was planted with the seeds
  of beauty
and became a flower determined
  to be me.
My petals are colored both front
  and back,
rejoicing in the favor of being black.
My stems stand straight like a mighty
  tower
with its roots in the soil of soul power.
Other petals seem to call me names
because our petals are not the same.
But I listen not to what others say
because I know I am somebody, you see.
God gave me wisdom at the beginning
  of time,
A color forever to be mine.
So I'm shouting with beauty and
  Heaven knows
there's nothing prouder than
  the Black Rose.

XI. EVALUATION DESIGN, FEDERAL INVOLVEMENT, AND REINFORCING WORLD VIEWS

The purpose of this chapter is to examine the effects of the evaluation design, federal involvement, and reinforcing world views on this study. The author has identified a series of maladaptive patterns of behavior that were present during the evaluation. These behaviors may be regarded as secondary or tertiary treatments and their effects on program operations bear examination. Not only were they important to CIP operations, they represent serious problems endemic to many evaluation studies--problems that can be overcome.

Overview

The replication study design incorporated both psychometric and ethnographic components to answer different kinds of questions. The psychometric component of the evaluation was to be modeled after that which was employed in assessing the impact of the prototype program. According to the RFP:

> The design involved three separate cohorts of applicants, applying at six- to eight-month intervals. Through over-recruitment and a lottery process, known in advance to all applicants, three separate sets of experimental and control groups were selected in a ratio of about three students to one control. The ratio was selected to permit maximum entry into _____ (the program) with the minimum N estimated to be needed for a group large enough to be sensitive to educationally meaningful effects.

A program staff member's remarks concerning this evaluation design echoed the sentiments of the disseminators, adopters, a few LEA members, and community members (at the site). "How many times are we going to be used as guinea pigs.... We have real problems that need help now, not more demonstration projects.... They already proved it was an 'exemplary' program.... Why aren't they just trying to help us make it work?" There are a variety of concerns expressed in this individual's remarks including disillusionment with demonstration projects that leave the community as quickly as they arrive, alarm and resentment concerning the experimental nature of the program, and (most pertinent to this discussion) outrage regarding the ramifications of the treatment-control design itself. It is difficult to convince individuals who witness the day to day deleterious effects of social experiments on "disadvantaged" participants that additional, formal tryouts are justifiable.

The application of experimental designs demonstrates a sincere desire to find effective solutions to social problems and to respond to accountability concerns in government. Failure to conduct a rigorous evaluation would be perceived as an abdication of responsibility; however, a rigorous evaluation need not always employ the treatment-control design. Moreover, the repetition of this design in new sites throughout the country is not a useful or appropriate mechanism for establishing external validity, contrary to Cook and Campbell (1979) and the GAO guidelines (1978).

A Misapplication of the Treatment-Control Design: ethical, programmatic, and methodological problems

The application of the treatment-control design to populations of dropouts and potential dropouts has moral overtones. Briefly, the problem is that human beings are being denied a second change--for many possibly their last chance to function productively within the system. In the case of the CIP, teenagers, primarily low-income minority students (or ex-students) who were disenchanted with "the system" and dropped out or were about to drop out, decided to return to the school setting (a symbol of the larger socio-cultural system, and a formal mechanism of socialization). Through the lottery process, however, at least one-fourth of them were told to look elsewhere for assistance. The effects of being turned away, on individuals who have been "rekindled" with the desire to lead a productive life are numerous and profound. The tears of a young woman (heard over a transcontinental call) who has received a letter assigning her to the control group is only symptomatic of the problem. Interviews with rejected students and their parents at each of the sites reflected similar concerns regarding their child's pattern of behavior. They are "falling back into their old ways, not goin' to school, not working, just hanging around with _____ and _____, those hoodlums."

The morality of withholding treatment from needy individuals in order to gain scientific knowledge has long been debated. The basic argument revolves around the issue of costs: the cost to a few denied "treatment" as juxtaposed to the costs to the vast majority that suffer from ambiguous results when the experimental design is not applied to the investigation. Tukey (1977) has stated his position in this argument quite clearly:

> The pressures of ethics and equity on clinical trials have always been severe. Today they are more vigorous than ever before. Many of us are convinced, by what seems to me to be very strong evidence, that the only source of reliable evidence about the usefulness of almost any sort of therapy or surgical intervention is that obtained from well planned and carefully conducted randomized and, where possible, double blind clinical trials (see the review papers of

> Byar et al. (1) and Peto et al. (2)). Dare we prevent ourselves from obtaining reliable evidence? (p. 327)

Gilbert, McPeek, and Mosteller (1977) argue along similar lines that the benefits to society--of accumulated knowledge through randomized controls--far outweigh the costs to the individual.

> If participation seems to the patient to be a sacrifice, it should be noted that others are making similar sacrifices in aid of the patient's future illnesses. So even if the particular [controlled] trial may not help the patient much, the whole system is being upgraded for his or her benefit. We have a special sort of statistical morality and exchange that needs appreciation. (p. 337)

One is almost forced to agree with Tukey and Gilbert et al. in cases where the value of the treatment is unknown. If it is ineffective, the control group has not been deprived. If it has deleterious side effects, it may be the treatment group that has "paid the price." The issue, however, becomes more clouded when there is good reason to believe that the treatment is effective. Even Boruch, a long time and highly verbal advocate of randomized experiments, has conceded that, "if it [the treatment] is known to be beneficial, then the experiment may well be unethical" (1976, p. 187).

A point that seems highly relevant to this issue is that of treatment availability. If availability is limited (e.g., only _____ doses of a serum could be prepared) and if the number of individuals needing the treatment is large, there does not seem to be any moral problem in selecting those who will receive the treatment by some sort of random process and using the others as controls--even if the treatment is known to be beneficial.

In the case of the CIP, credible evidence of success had been compiled at the original site and there was every reason to believe that the program would continue to be beneficial to interns if it could be transported to (or replicated in) new sites. Furthermore, at least in the case of the third cohort, applicants for admission were assigned to control groups even though the program was underenrolled.

A still more telling objection to the use of a treatment-control design for evaluating the CIP is that the design could not be properly implemented. The internal validity of the design rests on the assumption that the groups being compared at the end of the treatment period were random samples from a single population when the experiment began. While the originally assigned treatment and control groups should have met this criteria of random equivalence, these were not the groups compared at posttest time. Various self-selections had reduced the memberships of both groups by approximately half. Since no credible case could be made that the posttest groups were randomly equivalent, the assumptions of the model were violated. Students who needed the treatment and would, presumably, have benefitted from it were thus deprived in the name of science, but without contributing the kind of sound, unequivocal evidence regarding program effects that (some say) would have justified their sacrifice.

Even if it had been possible to hold attrition to within reasonable bounds, the experiment was not of the double-blind variety. Furthermore, a strong case could be made that assignment to the control group had a negative impact--one further reason to believe that neither the young people nor science had been well served by the evaluation design.

Boruch's tour-de-force *On common contentions about randomized field experiments* describes techniques intended to "reduce conflicts between ethical standards and evaluation needs." This work, however, does not adequately respond to the constraints operating on programs like the CIP. For example, in a two-year demonstration program involving a one-year follow-up on graduates, "delaying treatment for individuals in the randomized control group" is totally unrealistic. Treating members of the control group before completing the experiment and follow-up would contaminate data derived from the controls. Expecting to treat control group members after a three-year wait would be equally far-fetched: they would either be too old (and therefore ineligible for the program), they would no longer be interested, and/or the demonstration period would have ended. (Some further discussion of this matter can be found in Chapter IV of Riecken, Boruch, Campbell, Caplan, Glenan, Pratt, Rees, & Williams, 1974.)

In summary, it can be said that the argument in favor of using treatment-control designs for field evaluations of programs like the CIP is fundamentally flawed in that the design cannot be implemented without violating the assumptions on which its validity is dependent. The arguments against using such designs appear to have sound moral and methodological bases.

The discussion thus far has only focused on the role of the treatment-control design. The problems generated by evaluations of federal programs extend beyond this specific research design and involve many additional facets. Four that are of special interest here are the "devil's bargain," inflexible schedules, replication, and federal interventions.

The devil's bargain. Evaluations customarily accompany large-scale implementations. This pattern represents one of the rules of the game in policy research. Clinton (1976) refers to this pattern as the devil's bargain. The potential adopter needs the funds for the program and must acccept the evaluation as part of the package deal--even though the evaluation has the potential to bring about the program's demise. All programs enter into this devil's bargain, with the federal agencies seeking to maximize their returns by weeding out the "weaker" programs--rather than by focusing their efforts on making selected programs work. The rationale is understandable and appropriate given the federal bureaucratic environment--with its scarce resources and high demands of accountability. This pattern, however, immediately places the program in a defensive position, responding to yet another pressure before it is even on its feet.

The funding agency periodically asks the disseminator to collect information about and from the sites that might jeopardize their survival--information that the disseminator is legally obliged to report (one of the elements of the "devil's bargain"). The sites perceive the disseminator's actions as an expression of betrayal, placing the disseminator in the "they" category of the we-they dichotomy. (This role further strains relations between the site and the disseminator because it amplifies the initial problem of the disseminator occupying a dual role as disseminator and internal evaluator.)

At one point, the CIP sites banded together, refusing to give information to OIC/A (the disseminator) until a bond of trust was fragilely re-established. The funding agency must know whether the disseminators are aware of the problems and are able and willing to deal with them. Simultaneously, the disseminator has an obligation to serve the sites in a non-threatening "protective" manner. Basically, the disseminator must respond to the sponsor's interest if they are interested in the potential extension and expansion of the initial demonstration. They must also, however, serve another master--the sites--to ensure their survival and prosperity (which indirectly ensures their own survival). These two roles conflict and constitute a no-win proposition for any agency. The effect of the structure of the situation rather than the competency of any agency per se must be understood to accurately assess the situation and enable individuals to construct alternative means of accomplishing their objectives.

Inflexible schedules. The necessity to follow strict timelines is imperative, from the federal perspective. The inflexibility of deadlines (often referred to as "the consequences of legislation"), however, has a number of ramifications for the evaluation and consequently for program operations. To illustrate, the formal issuing of the RFP for this study was delayed by approximately four months; however, the timelines required for the evaluation as well as for program start-up and operation were not altered. Not only was there inadequate time for refining the evaluation plan after an initial round of site visits, the sites found themselves contractually obligated to begin serving students only one month after they were given the go-ahead.

The timelines and deadlines for deliverables were similarly not altered. The draft of the first evaluation report, as a consequence of this inflexibility, had to be submitted before three of the four sites were in full operation and before any data had been collected from them. A draft of a second report was produced while members of the evaluation staff were still in the field collecting data for it.

The stress on meeting deadlines for program implementation has also had a direct effect on the start-up and operation of the program. The program's timeline was dictated by Congressional demands rather than on a careful analysis of how long each task would take. The unavoidably delayed start-up of the program thus forced the sites into a pattern of "always trying to catch up." This situation had severe consequences for hiring qualified staff and for recruiting students. Most of the programs' staffs were interviewed and hired during the first day of training while recruitment of students at the least favorable time--toward the end of the academic year. (Second cohort recruitment took place in the summertime when LEA personnel were not available to identify potential dropouts--again to follow the demonstration guidelines.)

The timing of recruitment efforts was at least a contributing factor to the sites' failure to meet enrollment quotas. This failure led, in turn, to increased pressures to secure adequate numbers of students according to strict deadlines, and threats of termination should they be unsuccessful. In order to "stay alive," the sites poured nearly all of their staff energies into recruitment but the precariousness of their position was demoralizing and led significant numbers to explore other employment opportunities. Regular program operations (i.e., serving youth) were severely disrupted--as a direct result of the rules of the game.

Replication. The central theme of the CIP evaluation was replication. Could the program be replicated in four new sites? Both the very nature of the question and its implications for the program bear examination. Professor Spindler, one of the ethnographic consultants used in this evaluation, commented as follows:

> My first reaction...was, "Why would anyone expect four different programs in four different urban sites to replicate a model program in another site?" This expectation is against the first law of sociocultural systems--that all such systems (and a program of any kind is a sociocultural system) are adaptations to their environment. We should expect each program to show significant deviation from an initiating model, and from each of the other programs. The question should not be, "Do they deviate?" or even "How do they deviate?", but rather, "Are they adapting well (functionally) to their respective environments?" (1979).

The emphasis on the replication concept in the process evaluation was problematic for all of the sites for a variety of reasons. The evaluation design employed the discrepancy analysis approach (Provus, 1971). Basically, discrepancy analysis consists of assessing the degree of congruence between model program standards and actual program performance. The first step in implementing this approach was to develop a model of the ideal CIP implementation with the assistance of OIC/A. Comparisons were then drawn between the model and the operational programs as they developed. One of the problems with the discrepancy approach is that it draws excessive attention to deviations from a model. The terms deviation and discrepancy, unfortunately, carry a negative connotation. Although the evaluation team repeatedly stated that deviations from the model were not necessarily either good or bad (but only items to be explored further), deviations were generally interpreted as negative by all parties concerned. This perception occasionally led the sites to adopt methods and procedures not ideally suited to their settings. Furthermore, in a few instances where they sought out more adaptive approaches, they were negatively reinforced by the disseminator or by the funding or managing agency. The sites slowly learned to adapt themselves to "the rules of replication;" however, it has detracted from their effectiveness in running the program, which requires alterations and deviations as it adapts to its new environment.

Federal intervention. As mentioned earlier, federal agencies have a legal and moral obligation to see that the taxpayers' money is being used "appropriately" and efficiently. They must also operate their programs according to strict guidelines and timelines due to pressures of accountability--and to the realities of federal agency vulnerability. These pressures periodically force them to take a direct hand in program operations. There were at least four major federal interventions during the course of the present study. Three of these interventions were "threats of termination."

It is argued that the "hard line" approach often discussed in management literature can be effective in producing desired outcomes; however, repeated tactics or manipulations of this nature often have unintentionally undesirable--often demoralizing--outcomes. Nevertheless, it was the hard line approach that the federal agencies chose to employ in all cases where one or more CIP sites encountered difficulty.

The first intervention occurred during start-up. All of the programs experienced difficulties securing suitable agreements with the LEAs. The LEAs expressed a general willingness to support the establishment of the program (as early as October 1978). The formulation of specific detailed agreements of cooperation, however, took months to productively develop. Site A was the first to negotiate an adequate resolution, achieving that goal in February 1978. Several months passed without any further successes in this area. Then NIE intervened and imposed an April 26th deadline. The threat was that sites not obtaining satisfactory school board resolutions by that date would be terminated.

The disseminator (OIC/A) became the bearer of the bad news, and personnel at each of the sites experienced some confusion between the message and the messenger. (This event marked the beginning of a process of estrangement between the disseminator and the programs due to the disseminator's conflicting role of serving the demonstration programs as well as the managing and funding agencies. The initial deadline was extended to May (by which time Site D obtained its resolution), then to June 16, and ultimately, to July 16.

The approach of threatening termination (instead of offering to assist the sites with their difficult task) may not have been the most effective route to problem resolution. Nevertheless, in this case, the "hard line" approach appears to have contributed to the desired outcomes--arriving at firm LEA agreements. One of the concommitant (negative) effects of this approach, however, was that it created great anxiety among program staff from the onset. It also generated a significant degree of anxiety among students which then affected attendance. As one student said, "We didn't know if the program would even be here tomorrow, you know."

The second federal intervention arose from the funding agency's increasing concern about the "inability" of the sites to attract the anticipated number of youths--particularly because it meant abandoning control groups. The difficulty of recruiting adequate numbers should not have come as a surprise since the prototype CIP had encountered exactly the same problem--which was described in some detail in the evaluation report (Gibboney Associates, 1977, p. 27-28). The funding agency examined the recruitment difficulties carefully and decided not to hold the sites to their contractually specified enrollment quotas. The original requirement for each site to serve 300 students in four cohorts with control groups for at least two of them was abandoned. The first and second cohorts were accepted as they were and it was specified that the contract requirements would be met if the sites enrolled one additional cohort of 90 interns and 55 controls. Failure to meet these goals would result in contract termination. The sites were told in early December that they had until the end of January (the holiday period) to meet these targets.

With this second threat of termination, a pattern was beginning to emerge. The federal agencies were responding to delays--deviations from a set model--with threats rather than with constructive criticism and assistance. Since the purpose of the demonstration project was to "learn if it can be done" in what had become an abbreviated time span, such threats were of questionable utility or appropriateness. During the months of November and December, survival became the single most significant concern of the four programs. Fundamental program activities, such as instruction, counseling, and providing various non-traditional courses came to an abrupt halt as the entire staff, and in three sites the students themselves, went door to door canvassing the neighborhood and recruiting in the local schools. This particular case of intervention thus became a near-classic instance of interference between evaluation requirements and program implementation/operation.

The threat of termination also exacerbated existing internal problems and served to further undermine the morale of the staff. This cannot be underscored enough because a demoralized staff can have tremendous impact on program operations. Staff members had already felt "persecuted, frustrated (due to internal problems), and underpaid." Threats of termination again simply accentuated internal discord, endemic to most organizations, and internal disorders stemming from earlier evaluation and federal involvement influences.

This particular incident was compounded by what appeared to be a form of interagency rivalry and poor communications through the cumbersome network of actors (the funding agency, the managing agency, the disseminator, the evaluators, the LEAs, the local affiliates of the disseminator, and the demonstration programs).

Another act of interagency rivalry almost brought all of the program to a close. Although a contract extension for nine months had been granted, the delivery of monies was delayed for over four months due to a dispute regarding a debt of $60,000 that NIE claimed was owed them by DOL. NIE refused to send the monies (received from DOL) to OIC/A for distribution to the sites until they received their $60,000. In the meantime, the sites had to look for emergency local funding.

A third instance of federal intervention in the study occurred when DOL visited Site C to evaluate and possibly terminate the program. While the site had obviously been experiencing difficulty, a new director had been appointed and improvements had already been noted. Nevertheless, a decision was apparently made to set an example for the other sites--to let them know (according to one key informant), "that this is the bottom line and that nobody is promised future funding" unles they meet minimum requirements. The funding agency went looking for "the worst site," according to one high ranking official.

The effect of one site being singled out--as an example, a test, and a display of power--took its toll on all of the sites. The site was in need of assistance, not of punishment. Repeated threats of termination and sponsor spot checks (used primarily to make an example for the rest) contributed to the creation of a despondent, "overwhelmed" staff. The site was largely unaware that it represented a pawn in the larger chess game. It, instead, reacted to the surface manipulation--the moves that directly affected it (exacerbating previously existing internal disorders).

The other sites perceived DOL's intervention as a threat to their own security and survival. This ritual event served to place program personnel on the defensive, emphasizing the power relationship between various factions. The role the disseminator played in this sequence of events served to further strain the relationship between OIC/A and the sites.

The last major federal intervention demonstrates how the most well intentioned efforts can produce undesirable effects--not unlike the case of steel axes for stone age men described by Sharp (1973). One of the sites received a special commendation from the White House for its overall excellence. The site clearly deserved the award and the recognition; however, the award did little for the self-esteem of the other sites. Two of the sites, although sincere in their admiration, perceived the award as a reminder of their own lack of success in comparison to "the national award-winning site." This generated a jealousy not unlike that of Joseph's brothers, when Joseph received the coat of many colors from his father.

The combination of a compliment, another threat, and strained relations with OIC/A, the only formally supporting in the system contributed further to the demoralization of the staff. The effects of the various federal interventions were compounded when each of the sites was given a 9-month, rather than the expected 18-month extension without any explanation. The director of one site summed up the entire year of interagency rivalry and muscle-flexing in the following manner: "its like two big elephants in the middle of the jungle ready for the fight, they run towards each other trampling everything in their path just to ram each other to show all the jungle who is the most powerful beast of all--but when the clouds of smoke clear away and the dust settles, it is the earth that loses."

Real World Constraints

> [Policy research in juxtaposition to basic research] is much less abstract, much more closely tied to particular actions to be undertaken or avoided. While basic [research] aims chiefly to uncover truth, policy research seeks to aid in the solution of fundamental problems and in the advancement of major problems. (Etzioni, 1971)

Policy research seeks immediate action in response to a troubled situation such as unemployment, a high dropout rate, and so on. It attacks a discrete facet of that situation to "avoid turf problems." Decisions are made in context of accommodation rather than command (von Neuman & Morganstern, 1953). Policy is more a process of drifting toward a decision, than a Platonic pattern of a single commander handing down decisions affecting the entire social sphere (see March & Olsen, 1976). There is, according to Mulhauser, "no search for a comprehensive understanding of the problem's nature or origin." Glennan (1972) pointed out that significant go/no-go decisions are rare in policy. Cronbach, Ambron, Dornbusch, Hess, Hornik, Phillips, Walker, and Weiner (1980) add to the picture the fact that: "Policy makers do weigh alternatives that have incommensurable outcomes--reduced-crime-versus-community harmony, say, or children's-shoes-versus-Army-boots" (p. 287). There is simply a time pressure that requires immediate identification of politically viable "levers of action." Often, Mulhauser points out: "The action taken is a minor variation on what was done the last time something like this came up."

Federal agencies are also constrained by the responsibility for providing timely input for policymakers. As Coward points out, "Evaluation data presented after a policy decision has been made can have little impact on the decision." The role of evaluation itself is limited in the policy arena. It is used, according to Rich (in Weiss, 1977), in "groups and clusters" as one piece of evidence or data in the larger fundamentally political equation (Acland, 1979). Cronbach et al. (1980) point out that "what impresses a research expert obsessed with method may not impress someone who sees the larger picture" (p. 294). Elisburg (1977) similarly places the Congressional role of evaluation into perspective.

> It cannot be stressed too strenuously that scientific program evaluation is itself evaluated by the Congress in terms of its utility to promote the effectiveness and precision of legislative judgments in a political milieu. (Elisburg, in Chelimsky, I, p. 67-68)

Furthermore, according to Cronbach et al. (1980),

> Knowing this week's score does not tell the coach how to prepare for next week's game. The information that an intervention had satisfactory or unsatisfactory outcomes is of little use by itself; users of the study need to know what led to success or failure. Only with that information can the conditions that worked be replicated, or modified sufficiently in the next trial to get better results. (p. 251)

In addition, federal agencies must maximize their returns in efforts with limited fiscal resources. Combining scarce resources with pressures of accountability produces a climate of interagency rivalry over those resources--and thus the need to employ the maximization model (McClelland & Winter, 1969). The maximization model suggests "that human beings everywhere tend to choose the personal action that they feel will gain them the greatest benefit (or avoid the greatest loss) with the smallest expenditure of resources." (See Barth, 1963, 1966, 1967; Erasmus, 1961; Bailey, 1960; Kunkel, 1970.)

These fundamental constraints shape the agencies' perspective and enable them to adapt successfully to the federal environment. The federal agencies' survival literally depends on an adequate understanding of, adherence to, and manipulation of these norms.

The fluidity of funding from year to year, political fluctuations and alliances, career building concerns, and the acquisition-maintenance of power games all contribute to the political instability of the bureaucratic hierarchy and federal perspective. "The political process has a life style and morality of its own--a lifestyle and morality that evaluators have to respect if they are to be of use" (Lindblom & Cohen, 1979; as paraphrased by Cronbach et al., 1980, p. 349).

The demands for data, according to strict guidelines and timetables, are generated from this environment. Knowledge is power, and information is required at pre-specified periods to assist in the federal decision-making process--e.g., assessing the relative merits of competing programs. Coward warns, "Agencies place themselves in vulnerable positions if they sponsor a research effort that is unable to provide data under constraints imposed by policy deadlines." The inability to address these concerns in this fashion may leave an agency "out in the cold," with little or no future funding. These constraints and the socialization of federal bureacrats according to the canons of the traditional educational establishment (discussed later) have guided the federal government into the pattern of traditionally associating the most credible and timely research with the experimental design; regardless of the task at hand.

The description of the research corporation's effect on program recruitment demonstrated how its perspective influenced behavior. The corporation as a business was interested in maximizing their efforts and minimizing their costs. This orientation motivated the corporation to instruct their testers to test no fewer than fifteen students at a time. The result was that students lost interest in the program while waiting for a large enough group to be assembled. The programmatic interference was unintentional. The disruption was simply the logical result of a research corporation's business-like perspective.

Another facet of the research corporation's perspective is related to the misuse of the experimental paradigm: the pattern of bidding for proposals with the problem, and in many instances the research design, defined in advance. "Independently the agencies push out tentacles, brandishing separate RFP's. Firms on the other side of the chasm send out tentacles in response and, as on the Sistine ceiling, a spark leaps across" (Cronbach et al., prepublished manuscript, 1980, p. 463). The contracting process itself shapes the evaluation as Keith Baker (1975) discusses:

> Many applied research administrators push for such a detailed specification of the problem and research design that the only important question left for the contractor is how much it will cost to carry out the agency's plan. The agency, knowing what it wants done and how it wants it

> done, is looking for a skilled staff to carry out its needs, not somebody else's desires....
>
> The agency's desire to maximize control over the research, to make sure its problems get addressed the way the agency thinks [they] should be addressed, is precisely the reason why it uses contracts rather than grants. The important feature of a contract is that it maximizes the agency's control. (p. 210)
>
> The RFP is very important in the research process. It fixes the outline and many of the details of the study's methodology as well as specifying the problem to be studied. The RFP will generally define the population to be studied, sample sizes, and whether the study will be experimental, post-hoc interviews, or pre and post-field observations. The RFP may even specify the instruments to be used and the type of statistical analysis to be employed. In general, the two areas where the RFP leaves greatest discretion to the proposer is in the instrument content (the specific items) and data analysis. Note again that the RFP is prepared by the agency. The people who ultimately do the work have no involvement in many of the basic decisions of the research process. (pp. 213-214) (Baker, as cited in Cronbach and associates, 1980, p. 324.)

There is room for negotiation, however, this pattern encourages the adoption of research proposals and designs without sufficient scrutiny. The day to day operations of the research corporation described by Cronbach et al. (1980)--where there are plenty of "mouths to feed"--provides an insight into the research corporation's behavior in this regard.

> Life in the contracting firm is dominated by the scramble for contracts. At every turn new money must be won to keep a staff in place. However, only large and experienced organizations can successfully solicit and manage large evaluations. A stack of blue chips is required merely to enter the bidding. The competitor must have a sophisticated business office for preparing proposals and keeping track of expenses. A public-relations staff stands by, ready to protect the flanks of a politically sensitive study. Computer facilities have to be extensive and up-to-date. Professional managers are

> needed to keep activities on schedule. And behind the scenes the firm's Washington representative keeps in touch with those who will be commisssioning evaluations. Abert (quoted in Biderman & Sharp, 1972, p. 49) commented cynically that good research directors are far less necessary to a firm's success than are intelligence agents able to pick up early word on bidding opportunites. But the firm does what it can to maintain a staff of professionals qualified to plan, collect, and interpret data.
>
> Some firms offer services of many kinds, in many program areas. Once well established, a diversified firm can take the ups and downs of fortune more easily than a specialized firm. But even the largest firm shivers during a budget freeze, and it goes into a spasm of readjustment when it wins an unusually large contract. A narrow specialty makes an organization highly sensitive to the funding priorities of agencies. Over and over the same tale is told. A firm waxes as federal interest in its specialty grows. It welds together a team with complementary skills. The team accumulates special knowledge of the social problem. Then support disappears, the team splits up, and a capable organization is lost. (Abt, 1979, p.50) (Baker, cited in Cronbach et al., 1980, p. 328)

Excessive protests regarding the study's design jeopardize the corporation's chances of winning a contract. The business orientation promotes compromises which may contribute to the overall pattern of misused designs. In addition, researchers' are socialized according to the same canons of educational research as the federal bureaucrats--the educational research establishment.

The educational research establishment's orientation is an even more powerful influence contributing to the repeated misuse of this paradigm. This view is characterized by the experimental, quantitative approach to research. Campbell and Stanley (1963), and Riecken et al. (1974) are probably the most widely recognized proponents of this approach. Campbell and Stanley wrote in their seminal work Experimental and Quasi-Experimental Designs for Research:

> This chapter is committed to the experiment: as the only means for settling disputes regarding educational practice, as the only way of verifying educational improvements, and as the only way of establishing a cumulative tradition in which improvements can be introduced without the danger of a fadish discard of old wisdom in favor of inferior novelties." (1963, p. 2)

The fundamental elements of the paradigm are treatment and control groups, such as those used in the demonstration study under discussion.

Traditional educational researchers dominate evaluation research corporations. They have been socialized in graduate training to accept this orthodox credo. Educational researchers employing alternative methods or perspectives are regarded as operating outside the mainstream of "acceptable" educational research. An overemphasis on the importance of the design has led to a situation in which the methodological tail wags the proverbial research dog. Researchers such as those in the demonstration study have allowed specific tools to dictate the way research would be conducted, rather than identifying the research questions and then selecting the appropriate method required to respond to them. This was, however, partially a function of the federal dictates.

The author is aware of the recent modifications made by some of the leading proponents of the educational research establishment. For example, Campbell has written in "an extreme oscillation away from (his) earlier dogmatic disparagement of case studies" that

> We should recognize that participants and observers have been evaluating program innovations for centuries without the benefit of quantification or scientific method. This is the common-sense knowing which our scientific evidence should build upon and go beyond not replace. But it is usually neglected in quantitative evaluations, unless a few supporting anecdotes haphazardly collected are included. Under the epistemology I advocate, one should attempt to systematically tap all the qualitative common sense program critiques and evaluations that have been generated among the program staff, program clients and their families, and community observers. While quantitative procedures such as questionnaires and rating scales will often be introduced at this stage for reasons of convenience in collecting and summarizing, non-quantitative methods of collection and compiling should also be considered, such as hierarchically organized discussion groups. Where such evaluations are contrary to the quantitative results, the quantitative results should be regarded as suspect until the reasons for the discrepancy are well understood. Neither is infallible, of course. But for many of us, what needs to be emphasized is that the quantitative results may be as mistaken as the qualitative. (1979, pp. 52-53)

There is, however, a time lag between the deeply engrained socialization patterns of the past and the acceptance of new ideas and views emanating from the center of the educational research establishment. The world of contract research is somewhat removed from and often antagonistic to the halls of academia--the center of the educational research establishment--and requires additional time for the diffusion of new ideas.

Moreover, the same Campbell and Stanley "hard line" approach described earlier is highly visible in governmental circles today, as evidenced by a major document produced by Boruch and Cordray (1980): An Appraisal of Educational Program Evaluations: Federal, State, and Local Agencies. Boruch and Cordray, in their Executive Summary for Congress, recommended that "the higher quality evaluation designs, especially randomized experiments, be authorized explicitly in law for testing new programs, new variations on existing programs, and new program components." This position is repeated throughout the document, e.g. in the Executive Summary for the Department of Education, in a discussion on randomized field experiments, and so on. Their rationale for this recommendation parallels that proposed by Tukey, Gilbert et al., and Campbell and Stanley, among others.

> The main justification is that high quality designs lead to far less debatable estimates of programs on children than low quality designs. They are more difficult to execute, and they are more feasible for pilot testing new programs, program variations, and program components, than for estimating the effects of ongoing programs. Explicit authorization would make the importance of good designs plain, and would provide more clear opportunity for competent SEAs and LEAs to exploit them. (Boruch & Cordray, 1980, p.6)

This kind of justification is not valid when the application is either unethical or when the "no cause" baseline is not established as in the national evaluation study under discussion. Furthermore, mandating stereotypic evaluation designs or paradigms is at best "off target." The focus on internal validity is misleading--external validity is the crux of the argument. "Internal validity ...is not of salient importance in an evaluation. What counts in evaluation is external validity, the plausibility of conclusions about one or another UTO that is significant to the PSC" (Cronbach et al., 1980, p. 314).

An analysis of the federal bureacracy, the research corporation, and the educational research establishment perspectives demonstrates how these parties can produce unintentionally undesirable effects (or "treatments") on program operations; effects that cannot be separated from the evaluation of the program and related "outcomes." The application of the holistic perspective demands that our attention be drawn to the policy context of the program and program evaluation. This perspective, like Dali's painting of Dali's painting of Dali's painting of Dali's painting ad infinitum, focuses on the importance of stepping back from the canvas to gain a more complete perspective of the portrait.

The generation of this demonstration project's research design and its acceptance are appropriate patterns of behavior given the real world constraints and perspectives discussed above; however, the behaviors dictated by these orientations and conditions often inhibit, rather than foster, the appropriate use of research paradigms.

Conclusion

Governmental agencies have traditionally equated the most credible research with the employment of the experimental design, regardless of the nature of the task. Ethnographic evaluations are novel innovations that are regarded at present as secondary to traditional quantitative approaches. The traditional approach is adopted to make the strongest case before Congress--on whom they depend for future funds. This design is selected in accordance with the traditional canons of the educational research establishment. The federal climate of inflexible deadlines, interagency rivalry, and scarce resources forces bureaucrats to find the most convincing design for their audience, for their own political and economic survival. The federal bureaucrats then prepare the requests for proposal for research corporations, who in turn respond to federal interests. Therefore we come full circle. The researchers are responsible for implementing the design as well as responding to RFP which explicitly or implicitly require the employment of a specific research design--regardless of the task at hand.

There has been considerable disillusionment with quantitative methods--particularly with the experimental approach. Campbell and Stanley note that:

> Good and Scates (1954, pp. 716-721) have documented a wave of pessimism, dating back to perhaps 1935, and have cited even that staunch advocate of experimentation, Monroe (1938), as saying "the direct contributions from controlled experimentation have been disappointing." (1963, p. 2)

This disillusionment has also been extended to the use of the experimental design in educational evaluation. (Cronbach et al., 1980; R. Weiss & M. Rein, 1969; C. Weiss, 1974; Scriven, 1978, among others.) In fact governmental agencies, most notably the National Institute of Education, have funded several qualitative evaluation studies over the past five years in response to the problems arising from the application of experimental design to natural social settings. These awards may represent a shift in allegiances regarding paradigms. This discussion itself may exist within the context of a scientific revolution of paradigms in educational evaluation--qualitative versus quantitative. Kuhn explained that the acceptance of a new paradigm depends on prior crisis, faith, and many arguments.

> The man who embraces a new paradigm at an early stage must often do so in defiance of the evidence provided by problem-solving. He must, that is have faith that the new paradigm will succeed with the many large problems that confront it, knowing only that the older paradigm has failed with a few. A decision of that kind can only be made on faith.
>
> That is one of the reasons why prior crisis proves so important. Scientists who have not experienced it will seldom renounce the hard evidence of problem-solving to follow what may easily prove and will be widely regarded as a will-o'-the-wisp. But crisis alone is not enough. There must also be a basis, though it need be neither rational nor ultimately correct, for faith in the particular candidate chosen.
>
> This is not to suggest that new paradigms triumph ultimately through some mystical aesthetic. On the contrary, very few men desert a tradition for these reasons alone. Often those who do turn out to have been misled. But if a paradigm is ever to triumph it must gain some first supporters, men who will develop it to the point where hardheaded arguments can be produced and multiplied. And even those arguments, when they come, are not individually decisive. Because scientists are reasonable men, one or another argument will ultimately persuade many of them. But there is no single argument that can or should persuade them all. Rather than a single group conversion, what occurs is an increasing shift in the distribution of professional allegiances. (1962, p. 158)

Kuhn's conversion experience does not occur overnight. It is not unusual to observe "lifelong resistance particularly from those whose productive careers have committed them to an older tradition of normal science..."(p. 151). In addition, since each paradigm has elements of the other, the new paradigm will probably be a Hegelian synthesis of the two contrasting paradigms, rather than a dominance of one over the other.

Currently, however, the dominant research mode of sponsors, managing agencies, and the educational research establishment follows the traditional quantitative orientation. The quintessential paradigm of this orientation is the experimental design.

Both quantitative and qualitative methods are presently required to answer different kinds of questions--and aid each other in the same questions--in evaluation research. (See Cronbach et al., 1980; Campbell, 1974; and R. Weiss & M. Rein, 1969, for discussions of the use of qualitative data and interpretation in evaluation.) The misapplication of the experimental design on a national level does little to stem the tide of disillusionment with the quantitative mode. The continued misuse of this paradigm will only render it impotent, in much the same manner that the misuse of the qualitative paradigm will render it a fad in educational evaluation. I am inclined to agree with my colleague, that "this disillusionment (with the quantitative method) is misplaced and the product of poor understanding of what different methods do and do not try to do." Research paradigms, however, require sensitivity and proper application to clients whether quantitative or qualitative. The misapplication of either design requires attention and examination.

The value of the experimental design can be compared to the value of technology--it is neither good nor bad, useful nor useless per se--only specific applications are good or bad, useful or useless. The repeated misuse of the experimental design is a function of several mutually reinforcing perspectives and real world constraints. Paradigms, in theory, do not logically determine the choice of research methods, as Reichardt and Cook have demonstrated (1979, pp. 11-32). In practice, however, paradigms do lend themselves to the use of one research method more readily than another. The author supports the increased use of qualitative methods--specifically ethnographic techniques--in social policy research. These techniques serve to respond more appropriately to certain evaluation concerns, e.g., process evaluation. Ethnographic "evaluations assume that human institutions are multi-dimensional and that social interventions have multiple facets and multiple relationships with multiple results" (Britan, 1980, p. 5). In addition, the use of qualitative methods serves to interrupt the chain of reinforcing perspectives that often blind practitioners to the task at hand. This does not suggest, however, that research strategies deriving from the qualitative world view are "superior to experimental design as a methodology for evaluating broad-aim programs" as is argued by others, e.g. Weiss and Rein, 1972, p. 243.

The appropriate use of both qualitative and quantitative design are required to respond properly to social policy research, as discussed above. Campbell's call for a clearer understanding of the relationship between qualitative and quantitative ways of knowing will contribute to an understanding of the larger problems facing educational research. Discussions of this nature reveal this chain of reinforcing real world constraints and views, and thus allow us to break away from this chain and view the task at hand more clearly.

The problem on one level has been the simple misapplication of the treatment-control design. On another level, the problem is the power of reinforcing constraints and world views that generate maladaptive behavior.

Ibsen's Stockmann discovered, after being rebuked for his attempts to publish his findings regarding the contaminated baths, that "all the sources of [their] moral life [were] poisoned and that the whole fabric of [their] community [was] founded on the pestiferous soil of falsehood" (1958, p. 653). The discovery presented in this discussion is that our research community in its efforts to produce the best research results is methodologically blinded by the very world view that generates one of the most cherished designs in social science.

This discussion calls for a re-examination of paradigms, research practices and policies, as well as the underlying real world constraints and views that generate them. The danger of narcissistic reflection exists in the realm of social science. The unexamined self, however, represents a greater danger, threatening the whole fabric of our community--like Ibsen's baths.

Recommendations

Policy Recommendations

The recommendations presented below are directly and indirectly related to the federal study under discussion.

1. Abandon randomized treatment-control designs whenever

    - assigning individuals to a control group means that there will be unfilled "slots" in the treatment group.

    - the assumptions underlying the model cannot be met (as when attrition is large enough to destroy the random equivalence between groups). (See Fetterman, 1981b; Tallmadge, 1979.)

2. Multiple indicators of outcomes should be used to assess program implementation and changes in program participant behavior.

3. Evaluators should use both quantitative and qualitative research methodologies in evaluation. (See Fetterman, 1980; Wolcott, 1975.)

4. Replication is a biological not an anthropological or sociological concept. Programs adapt to their environment. The process of adaptation should be the focus of inquiry. (See Fetterman, 1981a.)

5. Evaluation should be primarily used to understand program dynamics and outcomes. A legitimate secondary or latent function of evaluation, however, is accountability. Evaluations should not be used in order to "praise or blame" programs.

6. An artificial deadline set at the beginning of a study should not dominate the study when there is no specific time at which the information is required to make policy decisions. Realistically, however, evaluators must respect a sponsoring agencies time constraints when a policy decision does rely on the timely imput of information--if they are to be useful to policymakers and if they are to continue working.

7. Multiple sponsorship or interagency agreements can bring different perspectives to bear on an evaluation; however, interagency rivalry and poor lines of communication result more often than not from such an endeavor--severely affecting program operations.

Program Recommendations

1. Improve screening and selection procedures for management of programs.

   (a) Focus on administrative experience and educational background.

2. Establish consistent screening and selection procedures for staff.

   (a) Focus on qualities such as dedication, past experience with similar populations, ability to be caring and firm as well as academic qualifications--both kinds of qualities are required.

3. Establish equitable salaries and yearly schedules with the LEAs to prevent demoralization, burnout, and turnover.

4. Capitalize on skills training programs in local OICs to complement the college-bound orientation of the CIP--as one successful director commented, "not all kids are made for college."

XII. EVIDENCE ON ATTENDANCE, TURNOVER, GRADUATION AND PLACEMENT

There are an infinite number of criteria to test a program. Many of the less easily quantified criteria have already been discussed in detail, ranging from increased attention span to learning how to cope with authority. There are, however, four easily quantified criteria to test the program that emerge from program operation and participant interviews as significant program outcomes. They include: attendance, turnover, graduation and placement. The figures reported in this chapter reflect the conditions of program development and a process of maturation. They are not the product of a program that began fully mature.

Attendance

Attendance is often a useful indicator of program success, trends, key program events, and cycles. For example, the ability of a program to attract and retain students will be reflected by attendance patterns and severe disruption in the program will typically be followed by decreasing attendance. Individual attendance records may also serve as documentation of attitudinal change. This relationship is discussed in the chapter that describes program graduates and placement.

Unfortunately, there are serious problems with the CIP attendance data that affect the reporting of these patterns. For example, some sites calculated their attendance based on the total number of interns enrolled, while others calculated their attendance figure based on "active" enrollees--those routinely present. The active enrollment figure is probably the more accurate figure on which to base the attendance calculations because an incentive was provided by contractually specified quotas to maintain a high total enrollment figure by keeping non-attending students on the rolls. On the other hand, of course, the manner in which "active" was defined could itself raise or lower attendance rates. The problem was compounded by the fact that attendance was calculated differently each time each program acquired new management. In addition, various conditions at the sites served to distort the statistics, e.g., interns signing in in the morning and then "scooting out the door," pressures to "look good," interns attending but failing to sign in when entering the program late. For these reasons the author has been careful not to over-interpret the numbers and has deliberately avoided a more quantitative presentation.

One of the most important shifts in attendance occurred in summer. A substantial decrease in attendance was reported by all sites. The reason for this pattern is intern employment. Interns prefer to work during the summer as a means of acquiring spending money and as a response to family and peer pressure to be "earning one's keep." The attendance is so low and erratic that interns earn few, if any, credits during summer sessions, according to program instructors and counselors. Staff across all sites have recommended restructuring the summer program to make it more useful and productive for staff and interns. Most staff members suggested a work-study program, whereby interns would receive credit for work experience over the summer. Staff explained the importance of maintaining a program over the summer--"so we won't lose them [interns]."

Another important intern attendance pattern is identifiable during intake of a new cohort. Attendance for new interns is high but "old" intern attendance is reduced significantly for the month following the new intake. This is attributed to a jealousy or rivalry factor. "Old" interns complain that the teachers and counselors are "spending all their time with the new interns" and they interpret that behavior as an indication that "they don't care about us anymore." This is a temporary shift. "Old" interns generally return to their former level of attendance within a month "to show the new interns the ropes."

The return of the old interns is also a product of the program's accountability system. Interns and their parents are contacted if they have a series of unexcused absences. These contacts are interpreted as a form of caring and motivate the old interns to return to their traditional pattern of program attendance.

The truancy of old interns, although only temporary, is clearly undesirable. There is reason to believe, however, that it can be arrested by institutionalizing a peer tutor or guide "treatment" into the program. Assigning "old" interns to new interns during orientation "to show them the ropes" has been effective in detering "old" intern absenteeism during this period.

Job insecurity resulting from threats that the program might be terminated represents a third significant variable affecting both staff and intern attendance. Staff members complained about how "difficult it is to wake up each morning when you don't even know whether you will have a job from day to day." These fears lead to resume passing, staff tardiness, and absences due to job interviewing or disillusionment, according to staff interviews and evaluator on-site observation. These behaviors, in turn, affected intern attendance because of the role model relationship. Interns indicated that they attended the program to maintain contact with specific adult personalities and that "there's no point comin' if the teachers are never here." Intern attendance was similarly affected by staff turnover because the absence of the adult figure was consistently interpreted as a form of "not caring" about them, according to interns.

All CIP sites had periods of high staff turnover that affected both the implementation of the program and intern attendance. The reasons for staff turnover, therefore, warrant examination and are included in the following discussion.

Not surprisingly, site-specific attendance patterns are partially attributable to site-specific developments. Site A interns had the lowest observed attendance rate--approximately 40-50%--a fact that is largely attributable to sporadic staff attendance. Site A's staff attendance was affected by lax and consistently changing management. It was significantly improved when instructors and counselors were required to sign in and out of the program. Intern attendance patterns followed those of the staff and were also affected by lax rule enforcement. This problem was compounded by the local LEA attendance regulations that allowed interns to be absent for 11 consecutive days before being terminated. Interns would come back to the program on the ninth or tenth day to prevent termination proceedings and then leave for another nine or 10 days. A brief intern program boycott due to "arbitrary" rule enforcement of a program dress code also negatively affected intern attendance at this site.

Site B had the highest overall attendance; at its highest point it was recorded at nearly 90%. This outstanding performance resulted from an efficient administration that enforced program policies strictly and consistently. Unexcused absences were grounds for termination. An elaborate system of paperwork helped staff identify intern attendance problems. It spelled out when parents should be notified, when disposition conferences should be held, and when there were grounds for dismissal. All parties concerned--parent, intern, instructor, counselor, and administrator were made aware of each step in the process.

Despite this elaborate attendance monitoring system, attendance difficulties arose at Site B when it expanded to a separate building. Many interns would "get lost" while walking from a class in one building to a class in the second building. There were numerous "distractions" in the street to interrupt their passage from one building to the next. The program had to consolidate itself into one building to remedy the problem. A transportation strike also severely affected intern attendance for a brief period of time.

Site C had the second lowest attendance record for the first year--averaging in the low sixties. During the second year the program evidenced a marked improvement--averaging in the mid-seventies. The site's low attendance during the first year was attributed to "weak" management and a lack of definite policies and procedures, as discussed in the site description chapter. The institution of a sophisticated accountability system drastically improved intern attendance. Interns were required to sign in when they entered the school and in each class throughout the day. In the past, interns would sign in and then "scoot out the door"--inflating the official attendance record. Many attending interns became disillusioned with the fact that others "were getting away with it" and often joined the ranks of their peers. The new system required attendance throughout the day and identified specific classes where attendance was a problem. Interns were often transferred to a similar class when an attendance problem was linked to a personality clash between a specific instructor and intern.

Site D maintained the second highest attendance record, according to on-site observations, intern and staff reports, and official attendance records--averaging approximately 70%. Attendance was higher during the second year than the first. This was attributed to the new management, OIC/A's "media blitz" intervention, and the establishment and enforcement of program policies that required increased accountability regarding staff and intern attendance. Staff and interns were required to record their arrivals and departures on separate sign-in and sign-out sheets. At one point, interns were not allowed to depart from the building after entering. This increased attendance and decreased intern morale. Complaints regarding the "prison-like" atmosphere and the regular public school policies helped remove this practice. Rigorous enforcement of attendance rules identified attendance problems early in their development and served as a deterrent to truancy. In addition, intern attendance improved as the program achieved fuller implementation--interns reported "it's more interesting...it's worth stayin'. I'm learnin' somethin'."

The figures and patterns discussed above are only meaningful when placed in context. Seventy percent attendance would be quite low in some settings. The interns attending CIP, however, had been attending the feeder schools with much less regularity. In fact, poor attendance was one of the criteria for referral to the CIP. Actual dropouts represent a still more extreme example of the behavior change from non-attendance to the attendance figures reported in this discussion.

Staff Turnover Rates of CIP Sites

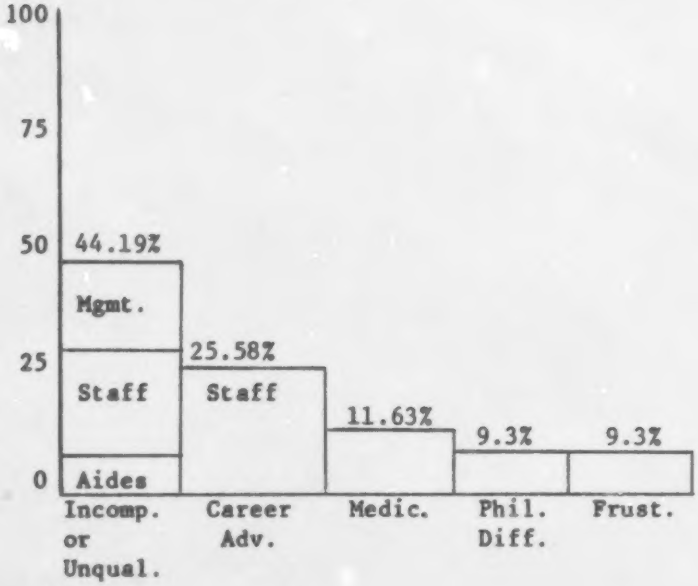
Staff turnover provides one measure of the stability of a program. This discussion presents and compares the turnover rates across the four sites. In addition, the reasons for both voluntary and involuntary departure are presented in terms of percentages of a given category (see Table 1).

The turnover rate is a particularly significant factor in the CIP because of the importance of continuity in the program, for instance, between management and staff, and between staff and interns. The development of well functioning CIP components requires some continuity of both policies and personnel. Similarly, the development of personal relationships between staff and interns--which promote attendance--requires continuity in staffing. The variation in turnover rates presented below are thus indicative of implementation successes and failures. The reasons for departure represent the links between implementation and a given program's turnover rate.

Table 1

Staff Turnover Rates of CIP Sites

Site A



Site B

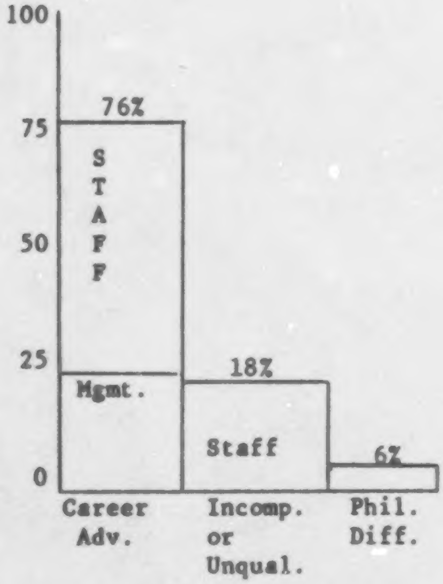
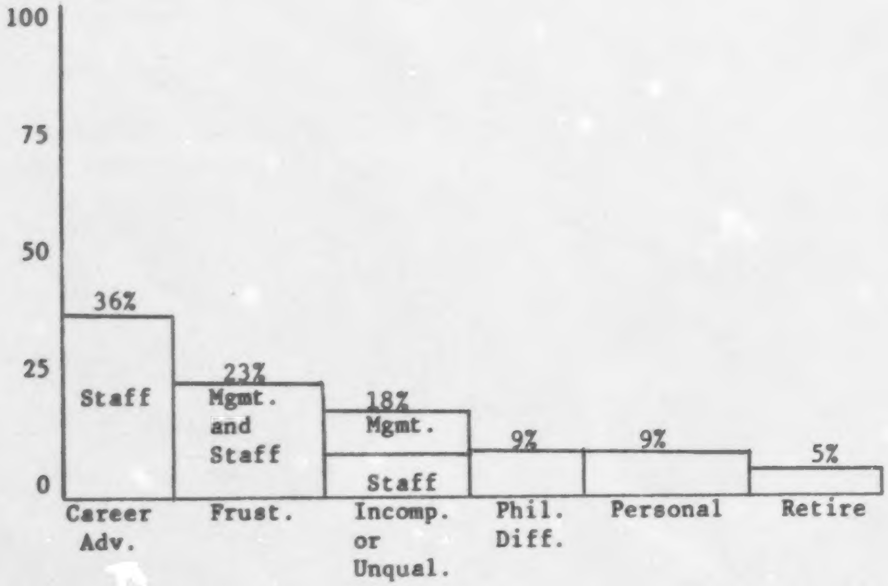
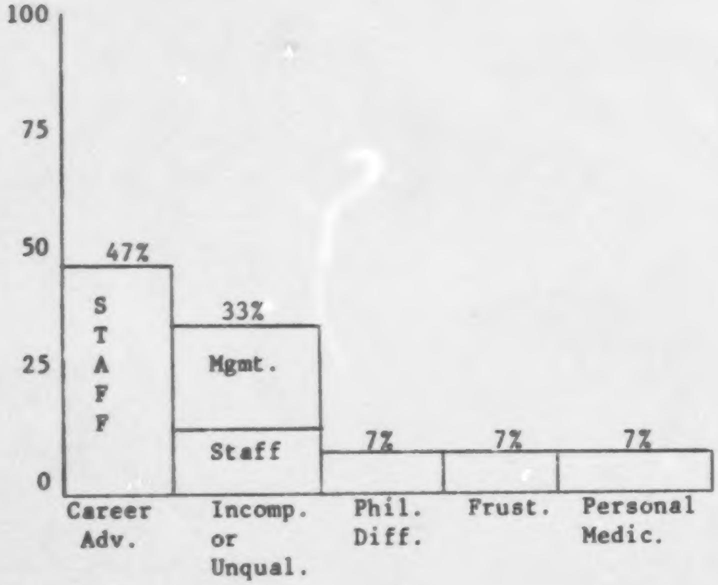


Table 1 (continued)

Site C



Site D



Site A had the highest turnover rate across all sites--226%; Site C had the second highest turnover rate--100%; Site B had the second lowest turnover rate--89%; and Site D had the lowest turnover rate across all sites--83%. The turnover rate for each of the sites was calculated in the following manner. Although the CIP design calls for 23 staff positions, some remained unfilled at specific sites because of low enrollments or because qualified people simply could not be found. Only those positions that were more or less consistently filled during the demonstration period were counted. The number of individuals who departed from the program was divided by the number of consistently filled program positions to yield the turnover rate. Internal promotions were not recorded in the calculation to avoid an inflated turnover rate. (Internal promotions have often been used to prevent departures of desired staff or to fill vacancies at supervisory levels). The specific breakdown of voluntary and involuntary staff departures and the reasons for their departure are discussed below for each site.

Site A

Forty-four percent of the departing staff (19 of 43 individuals) represented self-initiated departures. Fifty-eight percent of the voluntary departures (11 of 19 individuals) left the program for career advancement opportunities. All eleven of these individuals were either instructors or counselors. This fact tends to support the hypothesis that the program serves a secondary function by providing a training ground for inexperienced or under-qualified professionals. The lure of better work schedules and fringe benefits offered by the local school system represented the most powerful attraction to staff members (55% of those leaving to advance their careers entered the public school system or local community colleges.

Twenty-one percent of the group that left the program voluntarily departed because they dislike working with other members of the staff or with the interns, or because they were uncomfortable with the CIP's methods. This finding provides one indication of a serious problem with the screening techniques employed at Site A. The same percentage (21%) of the voluntary group left due to frustration with the program's management. About half of this "frustration" group described CIP management as incompetent or arbitrary, a quarter left because of difficulties with local OIC administration and staff members, and a quarter left because they perceived no prospects for professional advancement.

Fifty-six percent of the Site A staff turnovers were involuntary (24 of 43 individuals). Seventy-nine percent of those terminated involuntarily (19 of 24 individuals) were terminated for incompetence and/or lack of appropriate qualifications. Eight of those dismissed for these reasons had held management positions, eight were counselors or instructors, and three were instructional aides.

When the voluntary and involuntary categories are merged the statistical breakdown of reasons for termination is as follows: incompetence or unqualified 44.19%; advancement 25.58%; personal/medical problems 11.63%, philosophical/attitudinal incompatabilities 9.3%, and frustration (due to management) 9.3%.

Site B

Eighty-two percent of the departing staff (14 of 17 individuals) left voluntarily. Thirteen of these voluntary departures (11 staff-level persons and two managers) left the program for career advancement opportunities. These figures, like those found in Site A, also suggest that the program serves as a training ground for young professionals. The majority of individuals went into the private sector citing higher salaries and greater opportunities for advancement as the reasons for departure. Only one individual elected to leave the program because of an incompatability between his working style and the program's instructional approach.

Three members of the staff were involuntarily terminated. This extremely low rate is viewed as indicative of an effective and perceptive screening process during staff recruitment. All three of the individuals involuntarily terminated were instructors or counselors--a dramatically different situation from that observed at Sites A, C, and D (where managerial incompetence prevailed or dominated the category).

The statistical breakdown is as follows when the voluntary and involuntary categories are merged: career advancement 76%; incompetence and/or unqualified 18%, and philosophical/attitudinal incompatibilities 6%.

Site C

There were 22 terminations at Site C, of which 16 were self-initiated. Eight of the voluntary departures (all of whom were either instructors or counselors) left the program to pursue career advancement opportunities, again supporting the hypothesis that the CIP serves as a training ground for young professionals. Five individuals who left the program voluntarily departed because they were frustrated with management and peers (other staff members). Three of them were management-level personnel who left the program for the following stated reasons: local OIC management, lack of support, unresponsiveness, and an unwritten policy of no internal promotions. The remaining two (non-management) people who left out of frustration cited unresponsive, weak, and inconsistent program management and uncooperative staff as their basis for departing. This finding suggests the possible existence of a serious difficulty with management policies and with the screening process for both management and staff at all levels at Site C. Two of the remaining three voluntary terminations were the result of attitudinal or philosophical incompatabilities with the program. The other resulted from a planned retirement.

Six individuals involuntarily terminated, four of them (of whom two were management-level) for reasons of incompetence and/or lack of appropriate qualifications. Two individuals were forced to leave because of conflicting personal obligations.

The statistical breakdown is as follows when the voluntary and involuntary categories are merged: career advancement 36%; frustration (with management and staff) 23%; incompetence and/or unqualified 18%; philosophical/attitudinal incompatabilities 9%; conflicting personal commitments 9%; and retirement 5%.

Site D

Sixty percent of the staff departures (nine of 15 individuals) were self-initiated. Seven individuals left the program for career advancement opportunities, all of whom were either instructors or counselors. As was the case in the other three sites, this finding supports the hypothesis that the program serves as a training ground for new professionals. The lure of additional money, promotional opportunities, better hours, and better fringe benefits in the local schools and in private industry training programs were reported most frequently as the basis for voluntary departures among staff.

One of the remaining voluntary departures left the program because of disagreement with the program philosophy. The other left due to frustration with an "unresponsive management."

Six staff members were involuntarily terminated, five of them for incompetence and/or lack of appropriate qualifications. Three individuals terminated for incompetence were management level. Weak managerial or administrative skills, poor interpersonal skills, and counter-productive communication skills were most often cited as the basis for these terminations. One of the non-management persons was terminated for poor attendance and the other for failure to meet LEA certification requirements.

The statistical breakdown is as follows when the voluntary and involuntary categories are merged: career advancement 47%; incompetence and/or unqualified 33%; frustration 7%; attitude problem 7%; and personal/ medical problems 7%.

Across Sites

Summed across the four sites, there were 97 terminations, 58 voluntary and 39 involuntary. Sixty-seven percent of the voluntary terminations were for reasons of career advancement, a finding that suggests salary scales and opportunities for advancement at the CIP sites were non-competitive. Most of the rest of those who departed voluntarily cited conflicts with management as the reason for their leaving.

Of the involuntary terminations, almost 80% were for incompetence and/or lack of appropriate qualifications, and over 60% of the terminations occurred in this regard at Site A. Approximately 42% of the terminations resulting from incompetence were managers. Again, over 60% of these cases occurred at Site A.

There were only half as many involuntary terminations at Site B as at the site with the second lowest rate and none of them was a management person. This finding suggests that Site B's personnel recruitment and screening procedures were outstandingly effective. The numbers of involuntary terminations for incompetence at Sites C and D were not excessive but both lost their original directors and at least one other key management person for this reason.

The high proporation of managers involuntarily terminated for incompetence points to the faulty screening process in selection and the need for more qualified professionals in these positions. Dr. Reverend Leon Sullivan also pointed to this problem before in relation to OIC management, stating that, "I want to look at the whole management situation of everything I'm doing...I think that we are going to have to professionalize the operations of the OIC or else we will not be able to make it" (Dr. Reverend Leon Sullivan in Antosh & Ditzen, 1980). This level of understanding and insight into program operations from the highest pinnacles in the organization as well as the actions taken to remedy these problems in the larger organization suggest that the same attempt to profesisonalize management in the programs under study will continue where and when needed in the future.

Graduation and Placement: A Profile

The CIP is expected to have many identifiable impacts on participating interns. A few of these outcomes that were discussed in detail earlier include: attitudinal change, increased attention span, acquisition of cognitive skills, enhanced communication skills, improved self-presentation skills, and the ability to cope with authority and peers. Graduation, however, is one of the most important program outcomes for interns and their families--it is "a cap on a genuine achievement." Moreover, the subsequent job and/or academic placement record represents at once a test and a realistic validation of the program's ability to help interns make the transition from school to work. While graduation can tell us something about the program's successes, much can also be learned from those whose needs were not served and who dropped out. Data collected from these individuals suggest that there may be a need for a preskills training or vocational component to the program. OIC/A, however, is justly concerned that CIP remain a college prepatory type program rather than a vocational skills program.

Site A graduated 58 interns: 24 from the first cohort (of 73 enrolled); 13 from the second cohort (of 54 enrolled, with 2 remaining in the program); 10 from the third cohort (of 88 enrolled); and 11 from the fourth cohort (of 78 enrolled, with 4 remaining in the program). Therefore, approximately 20% of the total enrollees graduated: 33% of the first cohort, 25% of the second cohort, 11% of the third cohort, and 15% of the fourth cohort.

The first-cohort graduates remained in the program for an average of 13 months, ranging from 6 to 28 months, with a mode of 6 and a median of 12 months. Second-cohort graduates averaged 11 months ranging from 2 to 21 months, with a mode and median of 11 months. Third-cohort graduates averaged 10 months, ranging from 5 to 15 months, with a mode of 5 and a median of 10 months. Fourth-cohort graduates averaged 3 months, ranging from 2 to 5 months, with a mode and median of 2 months. The overall average length of time graduates remained in the program--combining all cohorts--was 9 months, ranging from 2 to 28 months, with a mode of 2 months and a median of 9 months.

Site A placed 52 of the 58 graduates: 20 in college, 17 in employment, 14 in a skills training program, and 1 in the military. There were 2 unemployed graduates and 4 graduates that could not be located. The statistical breakdown of placement according to percentage of cohort graduates provides an additional insight into the pattern of program placement: college--17% of cohort one, 54% of cohort two, 30% of cohort three, and 55% of cohort four; employment--33% of cohort one, 15% of cohort two, 30% of cohort three, and 36% of cohort four; skills training--33% of cohort one, 31% of cohort two, 10% of cohort three, and 9% of cohort four; military--10% of cohort three; unemployed--8% of cohort one; and unknown--8% of cohort one and 20% of cohort three.

Site B graduated 69 interns: 18 from the first cohort (of 56 enrolled, with 2 remaining in the program); 29 from the second cohort (of 60 enrolled, with 7 remaining in the program); 19 from the third cohort (of 106 enrolled, with 27 remaining in the program); and 3 from the fourth cohort (of 75 enrolled, with 41 remaining in the program). Therefore, approximately 31% of the total enrollees graduated: 33% of the first cohort; 55% of the second cohort; 24% of the third cohort; and 9% of the fourth cohort.

The first-cohort graduates remained in the program for an average of 13 months, ranging from 4 to 26 months, with a mode and median of 9 months. Second-cohort graduates averaged 10 months, ranging from 3 to 20 months, with a mode and median of 8 months. Third-cohort graduates averaged 12 months, ranging from 4 to 18 months, with a mode and median of 16 months. Fourth-cohort graduates averaged 6 months, ranging from 4 to 9 months, with a trimodal distribution of 4, 5, and 9 months and a median of 5 months. The overall average length of time graduates remained in the program--combining all cohorts--was 10 months, ranging from 3 to 26 months, with a mode of 8 months, and a median of 9 months.

Site B placed 59 of its 69 graduates: 33 in college, 16 in employment, 6 in a skills training program, and 4 in the military. There were 4 graduates that were unemployed, 5 that could not be located, and 1 deceased. The statistical breakdown of graduate placements according to percentage of cohort graduates was as follows: college--39% of cohort one, 59% of cohort two, 42% of cohort three, and 33% of cohort four; employment--22% of cohort one, 24% of cohort two, 21% of cohort three, and 33% of cohort four; skills training--17% of cohort one, 3% of cohort two, and 11% of cohort three; military--6% of cohort one, and 16% of cohort three; unemployed--14% of cohort two; deceased--6% of cohort one; and unknown--11% of cohort one, 11% of cohort three, and 33% of cohort four.

Site C graduated 40 interns: 14 from the first cohort (of 30 enrolled); 15 from the second cohort (of 46 enrolled, with 1 remaining in the program); 10 from the third cohort (of 95 enrolled, with 14 remaining in the program); and 1 from the fourth cohort (of 62 enrolled, with 61 remaining in the program). Therefore, approximately 27% of the total enrollees graduated: 61% of the first cohort; 33% of the second cohort; 12% of the third cohort; and 100% of the fourth cohort.

The first-cohort graduates remained in the program for an average of 15 months, ranging from 5 to 31 months, with a bimodal distribution of 5 and 22, and a median of 16 months. Second-cohort graduates averaged 10 months, ranging from 6 to 19 months, with a mode and median of 6 months. Third-cohort graduates averaged 12 months, ranging from 6 to 20 months, with a trimodal distribution of 6, 11, and 19 months, and a median of 11 months. The single fourth-cohort graduate in the program for 8 months.

The overall average length of time graduates remained in the program ranged from 5 to 31 months, with an average of 11, a mode of 8, and a median of 12 months.

Site C placed 26 of its 40 graduates: 7 in college, 12 in employment, 3 in the military, and 4 in a skills training program. There were 6 graduates that were unemployed, 5 pregnant, and 3 unknown. The statistical breakdown of graduate placements according to percentage of cohort were as follows: college--21% of cohort one, 20% of cohort two, and 10% of cohort three; employment--21% of cohort one, 13% of cohort two, 60% of cohort three, and 100% of cohort four; skills training--7% of cohort one, and 20% of cohort two; military--13% of cohort two and 10% of cohort three; unemployed--14% of cohort one, 20% of cohort two, and 10% of cohort three; pregnancy--14% of cohort one, 13% of cohort two, and 10% of cohort three; and unknown--21% of cohort one.

Site D graduated 58 interns: 4 from the first cohort (of 22 enrolled); 18 from the second cohort (of 68 enrolled); 26 from the third cohort (of 97 enrolled, with 13 remaining in the program), and 10 from the fourth cohort (of 130 enrolled, with 84 remaining

282

in the program). Therefore, approximately 30% of the total enrollees graduated: 18% of the first cohort graduated, 29% of the second cohort, 33% of the third cohort, and 22% of the fourth cohort.

First-cohort graduates remained in the program for an average of 14 months, ranging from 11 to 16 months, with a bimodal distribution of 11 and 16, and a median of 14 months. Second-cohort graduates averaged 11 months, ranging from 7 to 20 months, with a mode and median of 9 months. Third-cohort graduates averaged 12 months, ranging from 6 to 19, with a mode of 17 months and a median of 13 months. Fourth-cohort graduates averaged 10 months in the program, ranging from 8 to 10 months, with a mode of 10 months and a median of 10 months. The overall average length of time graduates remained in the program--combining all cohorts--was 12 months, ranging from 6 to 20 months, with a mode of 9 and median of 10 months.

Site D placed 52 of its 58 graduates: 34 in college, 8 in employment, 5 in the military, and 5 in a skills training program. There was 1 graduate that was unemployed, and 5 could not be contacted. The statistical breakdown of graduate placements according to percentage of cohort were as follows: college--75% of cohort one, 61% of cohort two, 54% of cohort three, and 60% of cohort four; employment--22% of cohort one, 12% of cohort three, and 10% of cohort four; skills training--11% of cohort two, 12% of cohort three, and 10% of cohort four; military--25% of cohort one, 12% of cohort three, and 10% of cohort four; unemployed--3% of cohort three; and unknown--11% of cohort two, 8% of cohort three, and 10% of cohort four.

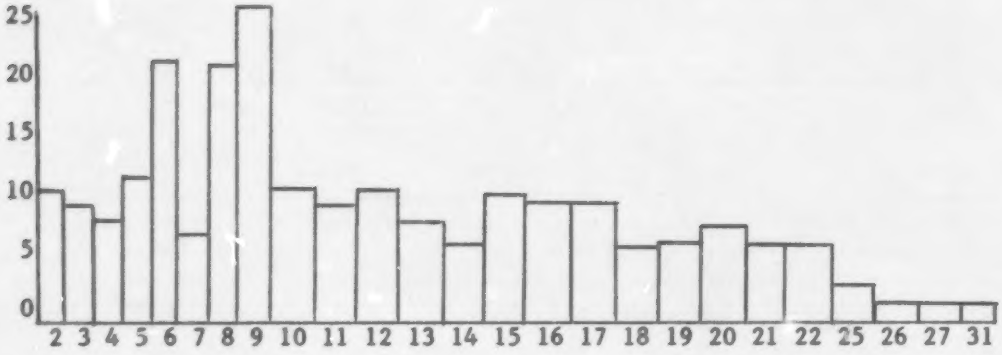
Statistical Summary Across Sites

The sites in total graduated 225 interns: 60 from the first cohort (of 181 enrolled); 75 from the second cohort (of 228 enrolled); 65 from the third cohort (of 386 enrolled); and 25 from the fourth cohort (of 345 enrolled). Approximately 20% of the total enrollees graduated: 33% of the first cohort, 33% of the second cohort, 17% of the third cohort, and 7% of the fourth cohort.

The first-cohort graduates of all programs combined remained in the program for an average of 10 months, ranging from 2 to 28 months, with a mode of 2 and a median of 9 months. Second-cohort graduates combined averaged 11 months in the program and ranged from 3 to 26 months, with a mode of 8 and a median of 9 months. Third-cohort graduates combined averaged 12 months with a range of from 5 to 31 months, with a mode of 8 and a median of 12 months. Fourth-cohort graduates combined averaged 12 months in the program, ranging from 6 to 20 months, with a mode of 9 and a median of 10 months. The overall average length of time graduates remained in the program--combining all cohorts and all sites--was 11 months, ranging from 2 to 28 months, with a mode and median of 9 months. The range, mode, and median are diagramatically presented in Table 2.

Table 2

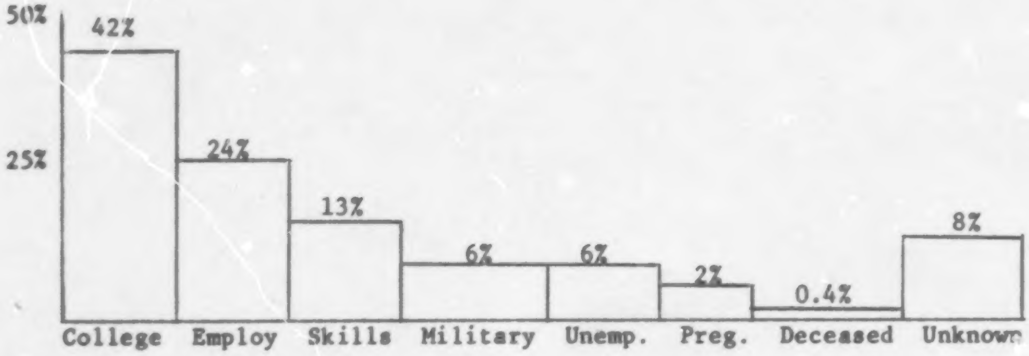
Length of Time in Program - All Sites [illegible]mbined



Total	217
Mode	9
Median	9

Table 3

Percent of All Graduates in Each Category



Sites A, B, C, and D together placed 189 of 225 graduates (84%): 94 in college, 53 in employment, 29 in skills training, and 13 in the military. There were 13 unemployed graduates, 17 that could not be located, 5 pregnant, and 1 deceased. The statistical breakdown of placement according to percentage of cohort graduates was as follows: college--28% of the first cohort, 50% of the second cohort, 40% of the third cohort, and 52% of the fourth cohort; employment--25% of the first cohort, 20% of the second cohort, 25% of the third cohort, and 28% of the fourth cohort; skills training--20% of the first cohort, 12% of the second cohort, 9% of the third cohort, and 8% of the fourth cohort; military--3% of the first cohorts, 3% of the second cohort, 12% of the third cohort, and 4% of the fourth cohort; unemployed--6% of the first cohort, 9% of the second cohort, 3% of the third cohort, and none of the fourth cohort; pregnant--3% of the first cohort, 3% of the second cohort, 2% of the third cohort, and none of the fourth cohort; deceased--2% of the first cohort; and unknown--12% of the first cohort, 3% of the second cohort, 9% of the third cohort, and 8% of the fourth cohort. Across sites, these percentages were: 42% of the graduates entered college; 24% accepted employment; 13% entered skills training programs; 6% enlisted in the military; 6% were unemployed; 2% were pregnant; 0.4% died; and 8% were not locatable. These findings are diagramatically presented in Table 2.

Case Studies

The graduation and placement statistics are extremely useful, providing an insight into the larger picture across sites as well as the range and variation among cohorts and sites. A few brief interviews, however, provide additional understanding of graduates as persons, and staff as caring, dedicated, and concerned individuals.

Wanda

> My name is Wanda [pseudonym]. My age is 18. I went to _____ before CIP. [It] wasn't too good; far as activities it was great, you know--people was everywhere. But as far as the work, you couldn't get nothing too much done.... People was everywhere; people was out in the hallway smoking marijuana you know. So you know what was happening, it was very hard. I got all caught up in that. I saw the [CIP] people in the hall and I was wondering, well, who are those people; and so I wandered over there, talking to them, you know, and they started telling me what you can do at CIP. "You can get out in half the time but you must do the work," so I figured you know, why don't I go to this school; and I know I gonna be able to something because they said they aren't going to be no hanging out; you know, I have to go to class; so I figured that would be pretty good, so I could do my work and graduate.

I never did want to really hang out; I wanted to do more work, but I wanted to hang out also. So while I was hanging out it just got to be, you know, more and more and more. So I found myself hanging out you know, over the time that I should have been and getting behind on work. [My parents] they didn't know. I wouldn't go home and say, "well, hey mon, I'm hanging out." You know how students is, they say that teacher didn't like me and you give every excuse in the book. But they (my parents) could tell. After a while, I just quit hanging out and I just waited for _____ (counselor) from CIP to call me.

Now I'm at _____ University. I'm taking math. That's my first class. Then I got learning skills and then political science. Its pretty good for learning about democrats and republicans, you know, as far as that...but as far as going into it for a major, well you know. My major is still business administration. I'm doing pretty good. I'm not failing. I passed all of my courses.

David

My name is David, I'm from _____ High and I'm 17. I was going to drop out of there but I transferred 'cause Mrs. _____ (from the CIP) she came around through the school and she talked to us. So I decided to try it out. My mother thought it would be good for me when I told her about it. (My father) he told me that if that's what I wanted it was my decision. Since I came to CIP I liked the attention that I get from staff and I can concentrate on my work. You get a lot of attention, they emphasize on your work, on your career, and everything. They make you want to work on your career and everything. They make you want to work, do stuff, be somebody. It kind of encouraged me to see everyone else work. You know when you see your friends working and you don't see everybody here in the halls. That really helps. I was at _____ (local high school) and it wasn't just the hanging out in the halls, it was this spaced-out look, bad shape; half the school is in the hall and its not just the students. Since I have been here (CIP), my grades have gone straight up--4.0 average. You know they be real concerned. CIP is concerned with what you're doing, if you miss a day of CIP they call and ask why you are not in school whereas in _____ (another high school), you can miss 20 or 25 times before they send a letter to you or something like that. They give you a phone call the same day before school is over. I have decided that now I want to go to _____ (_____ Institute of Technology), before _____ Institute of Technology I am going to _____ electronics--so many places are on my mind. I have been thinking of _____ (electronic skills center). It is possible to get into their apprenticeship program. I know I can get a scholarship for that one.

Alan

My name is Alan and I'm 19. I went to _____ before CIP. I dropped out of school for a year and I didn't do nothing. I used to hang out and get high, you know the usual. I live down the street and I was just walkin' by, that's how I found out about it. I used to wear a big old hat. I don't wear it no more and I cut my hair. I was tough but that was a long time ago. I stay here two years and three months. I'm at _____ University now. I'm taking math 102, 103, learning skills, and American history. I had math 100, learning skills, and sociology last fall. I'm getting good grades. My mother, she happy. My mother, she always wanted me to go back to school (when I dropped out). She just told me that I could do nothing with no education, that's all. I didn't talk to him [my father] much. I just usually talk to my mother. She understands me better. At school I get together with some of my buddies (graduates from CIP). We help each other. Lot of stuff I don't understand, a lot of stuff they don't understand. So we explain it to each other. Some of the teachers are pretty good but, well, you know how professors are, some of them you can understand and with some of them [they] go over stuff too fast. We got tutors, though, and they're cool. They help whenever you need help. The things that helped me most in CIP for college was English, that helped me the most, and the other classes I had, like law and government, helped me a little bit. They helped me to do a lot of work in a short time. _____ was one of the best teachers that we had. He didn't let up either, you got A's or you got it. That's how he got me ready for _____ (college), that's why I liked him, I'm glad that I had him. CCS that

> helped me as far as helping decide what I wanted to be. I'm looking forward to being an engineer. [During the time I was at CIP], they had plenty of career fairs and you got to talk to a lot of people about your career. I went to an engineering firm for a week for my Hands-On. I learned how to read blueprints. When I first got there I didn't know what they was. They actually taught it. The whole CIP has helped me and I'll never forget it. I come back to talk to the interns to let them know that they can make it too.

A Role for Pre-Skills Training

The graduation and placement record of the program, as well as the testimonials, testify to the program's ability to help interns make the transition from school to work. These figures, however, also highlight the number of interns that were not served by the program. The retention rates of the programs were: 26% Site A, 65% Site B, 39% Site C, and 41% Site D (Treadway, Stromquist, Fetterman, Foat, & Tallmadge, 1981). A closer examination of the termination statistics reveals that non-attendance and voluntary withdrawal represent the most frequent reasons cited for termination across all sites, e.g., Site B--35% non-attendance and 15% voluntary withdrawal. Ex-interns reported the following reasons for departure: "bored," "wasn't getting anything out of it," "place was 'screwed up'," mother didn't want student (white) to attend CIP due to location of program, mother wanted intern to go to work, "CIP too slow," wanted a G.E.D., wanted to learn a skill, pregnant, married, and incarcerated. Some of these reasons represent responses to program implementation difficulties, discussed in detail earlier. The most common suggestion offered by ex-interns to alleviate the boredom was the institution of a pre-skills or vocational component to the program. This response is supported by the high number of ex-interns that entered skills programs and employment. This pre-skills component suggestion is further supported by one of the successful directors insights presented in the interview chapter earlier. Briefly, the director suggested the need to "introduce them [interns] to some of the skills which are needed in the program.... [Provide them with] other kinds of vestibule training, pre-skill training. I think that will actually whet their appetite for more skill training in other areas.... I think once they have that kind of exposure [it will be the same] as the Philadelphia Director of High School Academies says...as soon as they hear they're going to the [pre-skills training] Academy, attendance goes up and on top of that they do repairs and make some bucks on Saturday."

In conclusion, the program outcomes of graduation and placement rates validate the program's ability to help interns make the transition from dropping out or potentially dropping out of school to graduation and to work or higher education. Interns that were not served by the program, as evidenced by termination records, however, suggested an addition to the program to serve their needs. The most frequently recorded suggestion offered by ex-interns in this regard was the institution of a pre-skills or vocational component in the program. This suggestion was also supported by a successful CIP director. It appears that the addition of this component does improve attendance and retention at High School Academies and would prove to be successful as an addition to the CIP. OIC/A, however, has expressed a concern about this issue. They do not want the program to be directed toward a skills program. They believe it would be a duplication of existing services. Moreover, they fear CIP would represent "more vocational education for Blacks" which, as Marland explained, tends "to segregate Blacks into semi-skilled occupations, reserving college for the white middle class" (Marland, in Gibboney Associates, 1977).

XIII. CONCLUSIONS

This study represents a departure in emphasis from urban educational research of the seventies. That decade of research focused on school failure within the traditional classroom. The focus of this study was on school success in an alternative high school for minority youth. The study's primary contribution consisted of identifying a new structure or configuration of socialization mechanisms to demonstrate how these mechanism's can be manipulated to provide a source of social change.

This study has developed a model of schooling based on the analysis of an alternative high school program for minority youth, which enables educators to transmit universalistic values (here specifically American mainstream values) in a particular fashion. In other words, standardized knowledge can be transmitted to alienated students through a personalized and particularized approach.

This study also challenges the model of educational socialization which assumes only a lateral or horizontal social mobility. In analyzing the way educational differences are related to social stratification, this study demonstrates how a formal educational institution (the CIP) can socialize economically disadvantaged youth for vertical (upward) mobility. It is hoped that the model of schooling developed here will be useful to both alternative and traditional educational institutions in the United States. This model, however, represents only a first step, as Obgu writes: "Equality of educational opportunity cannot be achieved by reforming the school alone" (1974, p. 258).

The purpose of the Task C study was to relate CIP "treatment variables" to "outcomes" at various levels. As has been noted in earlier chapters, these interrelationships are highly complex. If nothing else, it is hoped that this study will dispel any simplistic notions of specific treatment components "producing" specific outcomes. There are treatments and outcomes on various levels that depend on a multiplicity of variables and interrelationships in any given educational program. The task of highlighting specific sets of interrelationships within the context of the CIP as a integrated unit--a sociocultural system--has been a challenging endeavor, but one that the author feels has produced useful insights.

The most significant relationships observed across sites have been categorized as adaptive or maladaptive, and as intrinsic or extrinsic to program operations. Briefly, the following interrelationships were prominent across sites.

Adaptive Relationships Intrinsic to Program Operations

OIC (local)

- Effective staff recruitment and screening are essential to program success. Underqualified, incompetent, and/or insensitive staff will seriously undermine, if not destroy, the program.

CIP Management

- Strong management that is capable of gathering resources and making decisions about activities requiring immediate action, served to maintain operation of the core program.

- Effective management requires a knowledge of "what's going on" in the program through informal and formal channels or sources on both staff and intern levels. Ignorance in this area severely weakens an administrator's ability to rectify programmatic problems.

- Middle management's routine use of the whole-person concept in their interactions with interns is perceived as caring by interns (which in turn contributes to their attendance).

- The definition of roles and the institution of rules, regulations, and specific program policies for staff and interns are essential to the the effective operation of the program (their absence leads to routine misinterpretations, misunderstandings, infighting, and turnover).

Instruction

- Maintaining high expectations by staff for students, both in and outside the classroom, contributes to high intern attendance (83% in one site).

- The use of contracts, packets, and similar teaching devices contributes to a greater understanding and sense of responsibility on the part of the intern.

- Open and sincere instructors produce a school climate that is perceived as human and flexible, and which keeps interns coming and willing to work.

- The accelerated nature of the program motivates interns to "get down to it."

- The "firm but caring" attitude of instructors toward the interns is a primary motivating factor that promotes their continued participation in the programs.

- Peer tutoring is an effective means of teaching reading (the situation is devoid of negative peer pressure or the stigma associated with not being able to read.

Counseling

- Intensive counseling embodying the whole person concept enhances intern coping strategies, i.e., controlling one's temper, and contributes to regular attendance patterns.

- Providing auxiliary services, e.g., day care service, enables interns with children to attend the CIP on a regular basis.

- Effective recruitment requires, or is enhanced by: organized and systematic plans, hard work from recruitment teams, LEA cooperation, a "real" office in the feeder schools, permission to make announcements on the public address system, good timing (after report cards), and peer group (intern) participation.

- Parent pressure is an invaluable tool for "reaching" interns.

General Staff

- A supportive staff contributes to interns studying, selecting a career, and earning a diploma.

- Enforcement of the rules for interns contributes to internalizing world-of-work norms. It is also directly responsible for the absence of profanity, smoking in class or hallways, and loitering.

- Indoctrination of all staff (including the janitor) into the whys and wherefores of the program contributes to increased intern motivation to attend regularly and pursue studies.

- Staff criticism of inappropriate intern behavior (in informal and formal settings) is interpreted positively by interns as a form of caring.

- Projects such as school newspapers or "scared straight programs" generate interest and participation among interns throughout a program.

Interns

- Small program size is required to produce the community-like atmosphere that forced many interns to exercise common courtesies not required at their former high school.

- School clubs and the Intern Council enhance intern affiliation with the program.

Maladaptive Relationships Intrinsic to Program Operation

OIC (local)

- Local OIC pressures on CIP staff members to "shape up or ship out" contribute to "everyone minding everyone's business."
- Administrative bottlenecks interfere with program operations and fuel staff resentment.
- Inadequate numbers of books prevent interns from doing homework.
- The use of strategies, appropriate for training programs, is counterproductive for academic programs.

CIP Management

- Inadequate administrative support serves to "bottleneck" necessary requests (e.g., for materials) and frustrates the staff.
- "Weak" management contributes to staff absences which leads, in turn, to intern absences.
- "Austerity budgets" that contain no provisions for cost of living, loyalty, or merit raises are self-defeating and lead to high staff turnover.
- The sudden and autocratic imposition of new rules will antagonize those on whom they are imposed--whether staff or interns.
- Hiring policies that ignore philosophical and attitudinal qualifications will lead to staff disruption and intern disinterest.
- Management that ignores courtesy and protocol will demoralize staff, which in turn affects intern behavior, e.g., attendance, graffiti, hanging out.
- Management by intimidation generates staff disruption, staff turnover, teacher absenteeism, dissatisfaction, and resume passing.
- Lack of a strong educational administrative background in management serves to undermine CIP-LEA negotiations and often undermines basic program operations.

- Temporary leadership is usually recognized as such by staff and interns and leads to a consistent disregard for program rules and regulations; for staff as well as interns.

- Inconsistent enforcement of basic intern rules and regulations demoralizes staff and interns alike.

- The lack of "professional sharing" (time to communicate with colleagues) diminishes staff members sense of professionalism and breeds secrecy and clandestine channels of communication (which are often sources of serious miscommunication).

- Assigning overall program management duties to the instructional supervisor isolates that person from program details and concerns. In addition, instructors do not receive the support and guidance they need.

- Paternalistic or condescending attitudes in management undermine staff respect for administration and the program in general.

- Lack of vacation time leads to staff burnout.

- Inadequate time (or know-how) for establishing working agreements with the LEA leads to almost insurmountable problems.

Instructors

- Instructors who employed traditional classroom teaching techniques or failed to infuse their courses with content relevant to the interns' lives were unsuccessful in achieving either learning or attendance objectives.

Counselors

- Insufficient counseling services lead to intern dissatisfaction, loitering in the halls waiting to see the counselor, and "cutting out."

- When the counseling department is overworked, personal counseling is the first area to get "the short end of the stick."

- Telephone calls and letters are ineffective means of recruiting interns.

General Staff

- Failure to have and enforce rules regarding lateness and apparel, for example, contributes to repeated intern tardiness (often leading to absences) and maladaptive self-presentation skills, e.g., inappropriate clothing for the "world-of-work."

- Staff frustration and tension, when coupled with a lack of administrative autonomy contribute to neglect in establishing course schedules that reflect interns' requirements for graduation--this in turn contributes to high rates of intern absenteeism.

- Poor communication between staff and administration ranks as one of the most frequent causes of program disruption leading to lower staff morale and indirectly to intern absenteeism.

- High staff turnover produce a lack of continuity in the program, which create problems with follow-up, and ignorance of basic rules, regulations, and program policies. This in turn confuses and disenchants interns.

Interns

- More than half of the interns fail summer session courses because of poor attendance. The CIP schedule is not designed to accommodate the interns' needs for summer employment.

Adaptive Relationships Extrinsic to Program Operation

Sponsor

- Adequate funding levels and time frames lead to staff satisfaction and reduced turnover.

OIC/A

- OIC/A's intervention can save foundering programs.

- National conferences that include local school board officials give the program a boost in credibility.

- Staff retreats are useful mechanisms for building program solidarity.

OIC

- Constructive local OIC intervention can help programs over difficult times--for example, by providing interim management personnel.

Community

- Threats to the program from outsiders (e.g., street gang members crashing a CIP disco) can elicit and/or reinforce interns' identification with and commitment to the CIP.

- Exposure to the community from which the CIP interns are drawn can reinforce staff members' commitment to the program.

- Interns' past experiences with broken homes, negative peer pressure, dope, school hopping (looking for the "right kind of people"), etc., provide strong motivation to enter the program and seriously pursue their studies.

Maladaptive Relationships Extrinsic to Program Operation

Funding Agency

- Threats of termination from the funding agency if certain conditions are not met are counterproductive. Such behavior demoralizes the staff, even at sites that are not threatened.

- Partial or inadequate funding significantly inhibits program effectiveness.

- Short or uncertain funding schedules cause staff concern about job security. Commitment to the program is lowered and staff turnover is increased.

Managing and Funding Agencies

- Disagreements between the funding and managing agencies can interrupt the flow of funds to the program. "Mixed signals" at the sites are also demoralizing.

- Excessive pressures to meet enrollment quotas encourages sites to enroll inappropriate types of students. While in the program, such students disrupt operations. Most drop out or are terminated which gives a misleading impression of the program's ability to retrain students.

- A treatment-control evaluation design generates difficulties "selling the program" to prospective interns (and directors of other programs) and damages the reputation of disseminators as service organizations. This problem is particularly severe when program "slots" go unfilled.

- A lack of adequate time for preparation and start-up invariably leads to operational problems later on.

OIC/A - OIC

- Rivalry and considerations of "turf" between OIC/A and the local OIC leads to the erection of obstacles to productive communication, cooperation, and training of program staff.

- (Mis)use of an evaluation report to highlight program deficiencies is likely to contribute to the demoralization of a once-dedicated staff.

LEA

- School boards and/or officials who are reluctant to cooperate can so hinder recruitment that the CIP may never achieve reasonable enrollment levels.

- Teacher unions may force employment of several LEA instructors. If those who are hired have non-supportive attitudes and low expectations of interns, their presence in the program will be a strong negative influence on both staff and interns.

- If the CIP is made an integral part of the school system (as happened at one site), the major incentive for the regular high schools to cooperate in the recruitment of potential interns is lost. Other negative consequences might include: increased unionization of the instructional staff (with a consequent loss of dedication and caring) and lessened flexibility to operate outside the constraints of traditional school policies.

Community

- In one site the facility was located within the boundaries of one LEA though it served students from several others. Resentment within the unserved "home" community led to harassment.

- Gangs in the immediate vicinity of the program may erect obstacles to prevent interns from attending the program.

This chapter summarizes the basic interrelationships affecting and characterizing CIP program operations. The quality of these interrelationships is critical to the program's ability to fulfill its manifest goals of enabling interns to complete high school and receive a high school diploma (rather than a GED), improving reading and math skills, and enhancing career planning and occupational knowledge.

The CIP demonstration effort has focused on replicating the manifest goals of the program and the activities designed to achieve them. The latent goal of contributing to the upward social mobility of various lower socioeconomic groups (who are disproportionately represented in the dropout and unemployment statistics) was never made explicit. It is the author's opinion that making this fundamental truth explicit would have substantially facilitated program staffing and training as well as other aspects at the replication effort. In addition, recognizing the process by which the program contributes to this latent objective is fundamental.

The program, like its parent organization, is geared toward the "work ethic." Individuals are working within the system to get "their fair share" of the economic pie. The dominant skills taught in the CIP are self-presentation and self-image skills that relate to middle-class levels of the job hierarchy. The program transmits middle-class values of hard work, delayed gratification, punctuality, and so on as a vehicle for securing middle-class occupational positions rather than working-class positions. In addition, the program expects interns to internalize these values so that they can demonstrate "independent judgment" consistent with world-of-work norms. According to Kohn (1967) this value orientation is characteristic of "higher" level jobs while lower level jobs are characterized by external requirements, rules, regulations, and routines. The aim of the CIP in this regard is to develop an internalized time clock so that interns will be self-directed rather, than externally directed by a factory clock.

Another latent function of the program is to provide a basis for social identification and affiliation. The program's operation depends as much on the intern's willingness to attend and learn as on the proper functioning of the program components. Most interns are neither adolescents nor adults; they are in the "liminal" stage between the two. Many interns come into the program ready for a change; most, however, are simply looking for attention and direction. The CIP offers them a means of attaining this objective. Once interns have committed themselves to participate in the program, it is possible for the staff to transmit middle-class "world-of-work" values to them. The mechanism that underlies this affiliation-acculturation phenomenon has been named the quasi-total institution effect. The quasi-total institution "allows its members a well defined structural and ideological situation into which they can fit themselves." The CIP serves this purpose for interns by providing formal rites, positive identifications, and models to emulate.

The key to keeping this quasi-total institution system alive lies in its rites of solidarity and rites of passage. CIP-is-HIP day is the single most identifiable communal rite of solidarity celebrated at each site. This ritual, among many others, serves to "enhance the sense of group identity, coordinate the actions of the individual members of the group, and prepare the group for immediate or future cooperative action."

Numerous program outcomes are important measures of the programs' success. These outcomes include attitudinal change, including dramatic attitudinal transformation; increased attention span; acquisition of cognitive skills, enhanced communication skills; improved self-presentation skills; and ability to cope with authority. There are also a number of formal and quantifiable measures of program success and stability, including attendance, turnover, graduation, and placement. Poor attendance was one of the criteria for referral to the CIP. Actual dropouts represent a still more extreme example of the behavior change from non-attendance to the attendance figures reported in this study. Low summer attendance, however, points to the need for restructuring the summer program, e.g., work-study programs. In addition, fear of program funding termination and "lax" management lead to resume passing for some sites, which in turn affected intern behavior. Elaborate attendance monitoring systems that held interns accountable for their behavior produced high attendance--75% to 80%.

All CIP sites had periods of high turnover that affected both the implementation of the program and intern attendance. Staff turnover also provides one measure of the stability of a program. The turnover rate is a particularly significant factor in the CIP because of the importance of continuity in the program, for instance, between management and staff, and between staff and interns. The functioning of CIP components requires some continuity of these personal relationships. Such continuity also promotes intern attendance. For these reasons, the variation in turnover rates projected below are thus indicative of implementation successes and failures. The reasons for departure represent the links between implementation and a given program's turnover rate.

Summed across the four sites, there were 97 staff terminations, 58 voluntary and 39 involuntary. Sixty-seven percent of the voluntary terminations were for the sake of career advancement, a finding that suggests salary scales and opportunities for advancement at the CIP sites were non-competitive. Most of the rest of those who departed voluntarily cited conflicts with management as their reason.

Of the involuntary terminations, almost 80% were for incompetence and/or lack of appropriate qualifications, and over 60% of the terminations in this category occurred at Site A. Approximately 42% of the terminations resulting from incompetence were managers. Again, over 60% of these cases occurred at Site A.

There were only half as many involuntary terminations at Site B as at the site with the second lowest rate and none of them was a management person. This finding suggests that Site B's personnel recruitment and screening procedures were outstandingly effective. The numbers of involuntary terminations for incompetence at Sites C and D were not excessive but both lost their original directors and at least one other key management person for this reason.

The high proportion of managers involuntarily terminated for incompetence points to the faulty screening process in selection and the need for more qualified professionals in these positions. The Reverend Dr. Leon H. Sullivan recently pointed to this same problem in relation to OIC management, stating that, "I want to look at the whole management situation of everything I'm doing...I think that we are going to have to professionalize the operations of the OIC or else we will not be able to make it" (Antosh & Ditzen, 1980).

This level of understanding and insight into program operations from the highest position in the organization, plus the actions already taken to remedy these problems in the larger organization, suggest that the professionalization of CIP management will continue where and when needed in the future.

Graduation ceremonies represent the most significant rite of passage in the program. Interns emphasize throughout the entire program that "your first responsibility to yourself is to get your diploma--that's the purpose for coming." Interns recognize the difference between passing an equivalency examination and earning a diploma--both in terms of personal self-worth and employment--and they are in the program to earn the diploma. The graduation ceremony marks the transition from young adult to adult for many, from dropout to success for others. OIC/A Key News (1979) captures the importance of this rite of passage: "The CIP graduation ceremony, it is worth noting, is taken very seriously by parents and interns. It is a cap on a genuine achievement, and the ceremony affirms that."

Graduation is one of the most important program outcomes for interns and their families--it is "a cap on a genuine achievement." Moreover, subsequent job and/or academic placements represent at once a test and a realistic validation of the program's ability to help interns make the transition from school to work. While graduation can tell us something about the program's successes, much can also be learned from those whose needs were not served and who dropped out. Data collected from these individuals suggest that not all needy youth can be well served by a program with a primarily academic orientation.

Altogether, the sites graduated 225 interns: 60 from the first cohort (of 181 enrolled); 75 from the second cohort (of 228 enrolled); 65 from the third cohort (of 386 enrolled); and 25 from the fourth cohort (of 345 enrolled). Approximately 20% of the total enrollees graduated: 33% of the first cohort, 33% of the second cohort, 17% of the third cohort, and 7% of the fourth cohort. These figures are somewhat misleading, however, as many students (264) were still enrolled at the time the counts were made. A large proportion of them are expected to graduate if the program continues. Sites A, B, C, and D together placed 189 of their 225 graduates (84%): 94 in college, 53 in jobs, 29 in skills training, and 13 in the military. The remaining graduates were as follows: 13 unemployed, 17 that could not be located, 5 pregnant, and 1 deceased.

The study also addressed the CIP in a broader sociopolitical context. An important problem with the demonstration was the application of the treatment-control experimental design to a population of dropouts and potential dropouts. The use of this design was methodologically unsound (assigning students to the control group was equivalent to a negative treatment; and high attrition rates invalidated the assumption of random equivalence between groups--which is the cornerstone of the design). It was also unethical (youths who needed the program were denied admission even though there were unfilled "slots").

Another sociopolitical inference that can be drawn from this study is that federal involvement in a demonstration project by its very nature can be a negative influence on program operations; an illustration being the extreme pressure (threats of termination) exerted on the sites to meet enrollment quotas. Not only did the enrollment priority require that instruction and counseling activities (which are, of course, the major thrusts of the program) be abandoned so that more effort could be devoted to recruiting, it was also directly responsible for the enrollment of unsuitable interns who further disrupted program routines, added to the paperwork burden, and inflated absenteeism and termination statistics.

The impetus to employ randomized experimental designs and to apply pressures to meet numerical goals, pre-established schedules, and inflexible deadlines stems from the federal bureaucratic climate. Governmental agencies feel they must make the strongest case possible before Congress, on whom they depend for future funds. Since controlled randomized experiments are generally accepted as providing the most credible evidence, it follows naturally that they will be selected--regardless of their suitability for the task at hand.

The kinds of ethnographic analyses underlying this study are often regarded by evaluators as novelties and almost always as secondary to traditional quantitative approaches. Nevertheless, they are relatively immune to the kinds of problems that plague attempts to apply quantitative models, suitable for laboratory situations, under field conditions. Furthermore, they provide a means of exploring a school situation with only an orienting hypothesis.

The application of ethnographic techniques to educational evaluation remains a new endeavor. The attempt to adapt traditional anthropological techniques to intensive, short-term studies poses many challenges. Each successful application thus constitutes a significant contribution to the development and refinement of this new methodological frontier.

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